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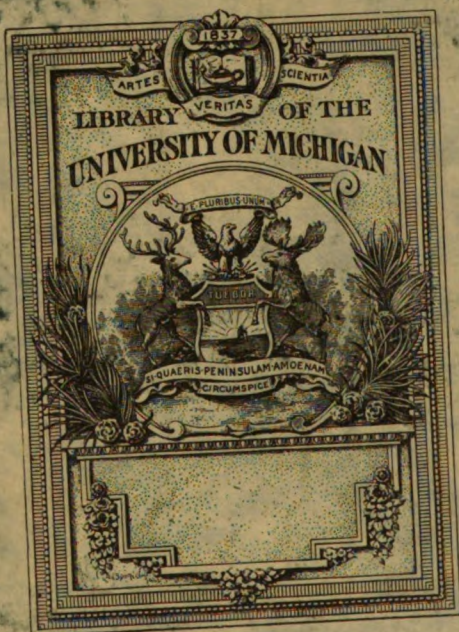
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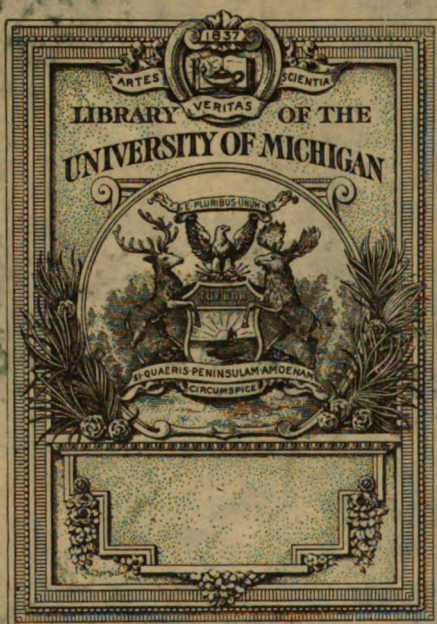
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THE
EXPOSITOR.

EDITED BY THE REV.
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VOLUME VII.

London:
HODDER & STOUGHTON,
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.
MDCCCLXXVIII.

The Graham Press :
UNWIN BROTHERS, CHILWORTH AND LONDON.

THE EXPOSITOR.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

IV.—THE SECOND COLLOQUY¹ (CHAPTERS XV.—XXI.)

IN the First Colloquy, as we have seen, the Friends of Job had contended that the Judge of all the earth must do right, that his Providence both must, and did, even

¹ In resuming my exposition of the Book of Job I wish, first of all, to thank many readers of this Magazine who have shewn their interest in that work by remonstrating with me on suspending its publication for a time, or by requesting me to resume it at the earliest convenient moment; and to explain to them that it was impossible for me to reply to the letters which, for some weeks, poured in upon me daily.

And then I have to acknowledge, with natural pleasure and gratitude, an act of generous kindness such as was, I think, more common among the scholars of a by-gone generation than it is at the present day. It so happened that in writing some months since to Professor Davidson of Edinburgh University, I chanced to lament that, as he had not carried his valuable commentary on Job beyond Chapter xiv., I should henceforth have to travel on my way without the advantage and solace of his company. In his reply he at once offered me, in the frankest and most generous way, the use of any "notes" he had by him on the subsequent Chapters of the Poem,—notes of lectures delivered in his Hebrew class; and begged me to make any use of them I could, provided that I spared his modesty any public acknowledgment of my debt to him. The deed speaks for itself, and needs no praise of mine; indeed, I dare not praise it, lest I should offend. Of course I gratefully accepted his offer, though I could not accede to the condition which qualified it. And so, at the risk of having his left hand know what his right hand had done, he sent me the only note-book he could find, the contents of which covered nearly the whole of the Second Colloquy. I believe I shall make him the most acceptable return for his kindness by using freely the help he so freely offered me. Unhappily the materials he placed at my disposal are not such as I can indicate by marks of citation. Nor must he be held responsible for the interpretation I put on any passage—my interpretation of many difficult passages having been formed before I had the pleasure and advantage of consulting his notes. But, none the less, in my exposition of Chapters xv.—xxi., I have derived much valuable assistance from him; and if my readers find anything in it specially to their minds, I shall be quite content if they give the credit of it to him rather than to myself.

in this present life, mete out to every man the due reward of his deeds,—good to the good, and evil to the evil; and from this large conclusion they had drawn the particular inference that, since Job was suffering the punishment proper to guilt, he must of necessity have incurred a guilt which, though hidden from man, was known to God. In his reply to them, Job had called even their main argument in question, and had passionately denied the inference they drew from it,—indignantly asserting his innocence of the charge which they insinuated rather than alleged against him, and even impugning the justice of the God who, knowing him to be innocent, nevertheless treated him as though he were a sinner above all men.

In the Second Colloquy, the argument of the Poem is advanced a step, though only by narrowing and defining it; the Friends having by this time discovered that they had fallen into a common fault of controversialists, that of starting from premises larger and wider than they needed for their conclusion. And now, too, the tone of the speakers has sensibly changed, the Friends growing more bitter and impatient, while Job grows more calm and self-possessed.

As Job had refuted the arguments which they had adduced for the manifest and invariable equity of the Divine Providence, and as, moreover, they are not even yet prepared to charge him with this particular sin or that to his face, the Friends take closer order on narrower ground. They no longer contend that the good always receive good from the hand of God; they drop that large assertion from their argument, and are content with affirming that the evil receive evil,—their implication still being that, since Job is suffering evils

so many and strange, he must have provoked them by some secret but heinous sin. All they now contend for is that

'Tis the eternal law that where guilt is
Sorrow shall answer it.

And they are so indignant with him for shamelessly denying his guilt, and so terrified by his bold assaults on the justice of Heaven, that, though they will not, or cannot, bring any specific charge against him, their tone grows harsh and even sarcastic. They are as much out of sympathy with him as though they themselves had never known sin and sorrow, and no longer speak to him as men

Who, by the art of known and feeling sorrows,
Are pregnant to good pity.

They make no further effort to win him to repentance by dilating on the compassion and bounty of God, nor express any hope that he will confess and renounce his sin. They cease to assure him that the Divine judgments are corrective as well as punitive, or even to urge upon him the thought, so frequent on their lips in the previous Colloquy,—

Oh, sir, to wilful men,
The injuries which they themselves procure
Must be their schoolmasters.

At first, and while they were still in sympathy with him, they had felt it was much to be lamented that he had no such mirrors as would turn his hidden unworthiness into his eye, that he might see himself as he was; and they had tried, gently and considerately as they thought (Chap. xv. 11), to hint this hidden unworthiness to him, and to persuade him to see himself

as they saw him. But he had indignantly repelled their insinuations: his constant reply to them had been,

You would have me seek into myself
For that which is not in me.

So that now they felt driven to the resolve: Since he cannot see himself, we must discover to him that of himself which even yet he knows not of.¹

In his replies to the Friends there is a corresponding change both in the argument and in the tone of Job. He still calls on them to charge him openly with the sins they still covertly suggest, to *prove* the guilt they assume. But, besides this, he meets them victoriously on the narrower ground of argument which they have taken up. So soon as he clearly sees what they would be at, he denies that the Divine Providence is retributive even in so far as the wicked are concerned. In a very noble and striking passage (Chap. xxi.) he affirms that, so far from being the most miserable, they are often the most fortunate and untroubled of men,—happy in their life, honoured in their death. And it is while he is brooding over this strange mystery that he is once more driven, and driven now once for all, to the conviction that, since this life is not retributive, there must be a retributive life to come (Chap. xix. 23-27).

Another train of thought runs through his speeches in this Second Colloquy, which fully accounts for the happy change we detect in his tone. Even in his first encounter with the Friends he had averred his persuasion that God knew he was not guilty (Chap. x. 7)—as indeed God Himself confesses that He did; and that,

¹ See the dialogue between Brutus and Cassius in "Julius Cæsar." Act i. Scene 2.

could he only gain access to his Divine Judge, he had no fear lest he should be not acquitted by Him (Chap. ix. 32-35, and Chap. xiii. 14-19). And now, though he still cannot see God, he is sure that "somewhere in the wide heavens" God is watching him, and testifying to his innocence (Chap. xvi. 19). He is so sure of it that he confidently calls on God Himself to be a Surety for him with Himself, since none other will stand sponsor for him (Chap. xvii. 3). Formerly, and for moments, he had lost hope of himself, because he had lost touch with God, because he doubted whether he any longer dwelt even "in the suburbs" of God's good pleasure. But now the conviction is establishing itself in his mind that, though he cannot see God, God can see him, though he cannot make out how God can be true to him, nevertheless He *is* true—so true as to be both his Witness and his Surety—what wonder is it that his tone grows more calm and assured? True, men have failed and disappointed him, but he is growing used to that disappointment; the first shock of it has spent itself, and he expects but little of them. True, even God Himself had failed and disappointed him, but, as he begins to see more clearly, it was only the phantom God of the current theology, not the real God who sits in heaven ruling the lives and destinies of men. *He* was true and just, and always had been, always would be, just and true. How natural, then, that throughout this Colloquy Job should turn more and more from the men who had failed him, revolt from the dogmas which had misrepresented God to him, and cast himself on the God who could never fail him! It was impossible to convince the Friends of his "integrity;" his assertions and pleas only confirmed them in the false con-

clusion they had inferred, not from his words and deeds, but from their own theories and conjectures. Say what he would, they did but

construe things, after their fashion,
Clean from the purpose of the things themselves.

Why, then, should he trouble himself to argue with them, or be overmuch incensed by insinuations which sprang from their own ignorance, and even ran right in the teeth of all they knew about him?

More and more, therefore, he appeals, from the men who had so misconstrued and so "misquoted" him, to the God who was watching him, and testifying to him, in heaven. Their inferences and reproaches were built in the mere air of speculation, not on any solid foundation, nor compelled to square with the facts. And hence there is less vehemence, less passion and excitement, in his tone. Not that he is altogether free from them even yet. His soul is still vexed

with passions of some difference
Which give a soil to his behaviour.

At times he is sad, as sad as ever, as impatient of truisms and platitudes, as fierce in resentment of the wrong done him both by God and by man. But, on the whole, he is calming down; the waves do not run so high, nor the wind beat so vehemently: the gloom, once so dense and impenetrable, is now relieved by broken and transient lights, nay, even by fixed stars of hope which shine on though at times the rolling clouds may hide them from his sight. As we study this Second Colloquy, in short, we shall come on many illustrations of Wordsworth's fine lines:—

Within the soul a faculty abides
That with interpositions, which would hide
And darken, so can deal, that they become
Contingencies of pomp ; and serve to exalt
Her native brightness.

1.—ELIPHAZ TO JOB (CHAPTER XV.).

Eliphaz, the wisest, and probably the oldest, of the three Friends is, as usual, the first to speak. As is also usual with the speakers in this great controversy, he commences with personalities, and only gradually approaches his new theme. And, still as usual, his speech is at once more thoughtful, more artistic, and even more considerate than that of either Bildad or Zophar. But even *his* spirit is hot within him ; and though he so far tries to be fair that he will advance no opinion against Job for which he cannot adduce higher authority than his own, he evidently intends Job to see his own likeness in the sombre picture he now paints of the wicked man, and endeavours with his whole force to prove that, if Job's conscience still pronounces him innocent, that can only be because he has paltered with it till it has grown "subtle," inaccurate, insincere. He had been content before to deduce Job's guilt from general propositions, from the accepted dogmas of the time ; *now* he needs no argument to prove it, for Job's own words, his passionate defence of himself and his equally passionate impeachment of the justice of God, render his guilt self-evident. Why should Job assail the current standards of thought and action if he were not conscious that they condemned him ?

If we would trace the continuity of the Argument, if we would see how many strands of thought are carried over from the First Colloquy into the Second, we

must be at the pains of marking the point from which Eliphaz starts. That point is the claim, advanced on both sides, to a pre-eminent acquaintance with the Divine Wisdom. In the last speech of the Friends in the First Colloquy (Chap. xi.), Zophar had so magnified the wisdom of God against Job, as to imply his own greater insight into it. If Job saw as far as *he* did into the Wisdom which shapes the lot and fate of men, whatever his conscience might say of his innocence, he would nevertheless have been dumb; he would not have opened his mouth before God, much less against God. In that inscrutable Wisdom, compared with which even the wisest of men was "without understanding" and of a "hollow heart," lay the secret of the strange and sudden calamities with which Job had been overwhelmed. Could God but be induced to come forth from his place and manifest his wisdom, even Job himself would be compelled to admit that God had not "remembered all his guilt," had not punished him to the height of his ill-desert.

All this seems to have stung Job deeply, since it implied that, as compared with the Friends, he was ignorant both of himself and of God, and most of all, probably, because this intolerable assumption of superiority so evidently sprang from an utter want of sympathy with him in the agony and passion of his living death. Hence through his reply to Zophar there runs a thread of perpetual sarcasm against this assumed superiority, blended with pathetic lamentations over the depth to which he must have sunk before they could have dared to take this tone with him. He is never weary of ringing the changes on "the wisdom" which was the keynote and master-word of Zophar's unfortunate oration.

"No doubt *wisdom* will die with you," he begins (Chap. xii. 2, 3); "but I have understanding as well as ye: I fall not beneath you." "With God is wisdom," he continues and admits (Chap. xii. 13); "counsel and understanding are his:" and proceeds to give a far larger and loftier delineation than they were able to reach of the Sovereign Intelligence which moulds the lot of men, and conducts all the changes and events of time to their predestined close. "Lo, all this mine eye hath seen," he goes on (Chap. xiii. 1, 2, 12); "mine ear hath heard and noted it; what ye know I know also." *And, more:* "For ye but patch up old saws;" "Your maxims are maxims of ashes, your strongholds strongholds of clay;" "Worthless bunglers are ye all." Their only hope of proving themselves wise is to be dumb; all he can promise them is that if they hold their peace, *that* shall be counted to them for wisdom (Chap. xiii. 5).

It is from this point that Eliphaz now starts, asking (*Chapter* xv. 2), "Will a *wise man* answer with windy lore, and fill his breast with the east wind?" Job's claim to wisdom is hardly borne out (*Verses* 3 and 4) by his mode of argument. Judged by his own words, he was more than unwise; he was impious and irreverent: his own mouth condemned him (*Verses* 5 and 6). And this claim to superior wisdom—from whence did he derive it? Was he the Adam of the race, the first born of men (*Verse* 7)? Had he a seat in the Celestial Divan; and, listening to the secret counsels of Heaven, had he monopolized wisdom to himself (*Verse* 8)? And, in fine, was he wiser than the fathers, the sages of the purest race, whose wisdom was as uncontaminated as their blood (*Verses* 9–11)?

His whole demeanour was of a piece with this monstrous claim to superior, or even to exclusive, wisdom. His bearing toward them, the Friends, was unbecoming, for they were bringing him not their own words simply, but "the consolations of God." His bearing toward God was still more unbecoming, for he had launched wild and passionate charges against Him, impugning the Divine justice and asserting his own integrity: and yet how could any man be pure in God's sight? Even the heavens, the purest work of God's hands, were not pure to Him: how much less, then, a creature so impure as man (*Verses 12-16*)!

These personalities disposed of, Eliphaz proceeds to his main theme, and expounds that mystery of suffering which is no longer a mystery to him. He does not now, as formerly, trouble himself to contend for the universal equity of the Divine Providence; he limits himself to the sterner half of it, that which metes out punishment to the guilty. While he still spins round in the same circle of thought as before, he confines himself to the darker segment of it. And in his treatment of his theme he betrays the very bitterness of spirit which we have detected in the personalities which introduce it. The one sign of relenting and grace he shews is "the polite indirection" of his words. As in the earlier Colloquy he had fallen back on a Divine Oracle, so now, still loath to advance his own unsupported opinions against those of Job, he falls back on the teaching of a pure and unvarying Tradition (*Verses 17-35*). With an air of relief, of triumph even, he adduces the sayings of certain sages, certain

good old chronicles
Who had so long walk'd hand in hand with time,

that their words are to be received as of an Oracular authority. As the unbroken voice of Antiquity is with him, he feels that,

Instructed by the antiquary times,
He must, he is, he cannot but be wise ;

wiser than Job, though Job had claimed to be wiser than he. From these ancient maxims, these "grand-sire phrases," he draws the materials of a most sombre and lurid picture of the sinner and his course—of the terrors that haunt him, of the chastisement that falls on him, of the end that awaits him ; intending that Job should see in this picture at least some dim resemblance to himself. And, what is very notable, for it shews how much more stern and bitter even Eliphaz has grown, he closes his harangue without a single invitation to repentance, without a word of sympathy or a suggestion of hope.

CHAPTER XV.

1. *Then answered Eliphaz the Temanite and said :*
2. *Should the wise man answer with windy lore,
 And fill his breast with the East wind,*
3. *Reasoning with words that cannot profit,
 And arguments which prove nothing ?*
4. *Nay, thou dost make piety void
 And restrain devotion before God :*
5. *For thine own mouth proclaimeth thine iniquity,
 And thou choosest the tongue of the subtle ;*
6. *Thine own mouth convicteth thee, and not I,
 And thine own lips testify against thee.*
7. *Wast thou born first, O man,
 And wast thou brought forth before the hills ?*
8. *Hast thou listened in the Council of God,
 And dost thou engross wisdom to thyself ?*
9. *What knowest thou which we know not,
 Or what dost thou understand and it is not with us ?*

10. *With us are both the aged and the hoary-headed
Who are older than thy sire.*
 11. *Are the consolations of God too little for thee,
And the words we gently speak ?*
 12. *Whither doth thine heart carry thee away,
And at what do thine eyes kindle,*
 13. *That thou frettest thy spirit against God,
And scatterest such speeches from thy mouth*
 14. *What is man that he should be pure,
Or the woman-born that he should be righteous ?*
 15. *Behold He putteth no trust in his Holy Ones,
And the heavens are not pure in his eyes :*
 16. *How much more loathsome and unclean is man,
Who drinketh in iniquity like water !*
 17. *I will shew thee ; hearken thou to me,
For what I have seen will I declare—*
 18. *That which the sages have openly taught,
Handing it down from their fathers ;*
 19. *To whom alone the land was given,
And no stranger passed through their midst :*
 20. *“ The wicked trembleth through all his days,
Through the many years reserved to the oppressor :*
 21. *Voices of terror resound in his ears,
Even in times of peace the spoiler falleth upon him ;*
 22. *He is never sure that he shall come back out of darkness,
And he is watched for by the sword :*
 23. *He roameth after bread [asking,] ‘ Where is it ?’
He knoweth that a day of darkness is close at hand ;*
 24. *Distress and anguish affright him,
They prevail over him like a king equipped for onslaught,*
 25. *Because he stretched out his hand against God,
And hardened himself against the Almighty,*
 26. *Ran upon Him with stiffened neck,
With the thick bosses of his shields ;*
 27. *Because he covered his face with fatness.
And folded flesh on his flanks :*
 28. *And he dwelt in desolate cities,
In houses which none should inhabit,
Ordained to be ruins.*

29. *He shall not be rich, neither shall his substance last,
Nor shall his wealth weigh upon the earth ;*
30. *He shall never quit darkness :
A flame shall burn up his branches,
And at a puff of breath shall he pass away.*
31. *Let him not trust in vanity ; he is deceived ;
For vanity shall be his recompense :*
32. *It shall come upon him ere his day be spent,
And his branch shall not be green ;*
33. *He shall shake off his grapes sour like the vine,
And shed his blossom like the olive :*
34. *For the household of the impure shall be desolate,
And a fire shall devour the tents of injustice ;*
35. *They conceived mischief, and shall bring forth iniquity ;
Yea, their breast frameth deceit."*

Verse 2.—Job had cast ridicule on the pretensions to eminent wisdom advanced by the Friends, especially by so "slight and unmeritable" a man as Zophar, and had claimed a higher wisdom than theirs. Hence Eliphaz opens by demanding whether it was like a wise man to answer with words as blustering as the wind, as noxious as the east wind. In *Verse 3* he translates his own metaphor, and plainly charges Job with having used unreasonable and unprofitable arguments such as no wise man would have condescended to employ.

Verse 4.—Job was not only unwise ; he was also irreverent, irreligious. By his wild and whirling speeches he, whom men held to be a model of piety, brought religion itself into contempt, since he assailed one of its fundamental assumptions—that God is just, and so diminished that *devout meditation*, that reverent thoughtfulness, that awe and modesty of spirit, which becomes man in the presence of God.

Verses 5 and 6.—There is no longer any need, there-

fore, to scrutinize his life for proof of his guilt, to produce the definite charges which he had so passionately demanded. His own mouth has proved the guilt which his Friends had inferred from the calamities that had befallen him. All that they had ever alleged or implied was now demonstrated by his own unruly and unruléd member, by his violent and irreverent tongue.

Verses 7-10.—But even yet Eliphaz cannot get out of his mind the slighting way in which Job had flung back—in the rough question, “Who knows not such things as these?”—the pretensions of the Friends to instruct him in the Divine Wisdom; and he here returns to the point again, demanding, in three ironical questions, how Job came by that pre-eminence in wisdom which he assumed. (1) Was he the first man God made? (2) Had he sat in the Cabinet of Heaven? And (3) how could he possibly be wiser than they, when they had on their side the highest and most ancient, and therefore most indubitable, authority? The question, “Wast thou born first of, or among, men?” rests on the tradition that “the first-created man, because coming straight from the hand of God, had the most direct and profound insight into the mysteries of the world which came into existence at the same time with himself.” Schlottman compares with it the ironical proverb of the Hindoos: “Yes, indeed, he was the first man: no wonder that he is so wise!”

The figure of the second question is, of course, taken from the divan of an Oriental prince, in which state secrets were discussed; and the sarcastic insinuation of it is, obviously, that no man could be so wise as Job pretended to be, no man could affect a monopoly of

wisdom, unless he had frequented the council-chamber of the Almighty. It is not unnatural or infrequent, perhaps, for a man whose claim to pre-eminent wisdom has been traversed to charge his opponent with advancing a similar claim ; but it shews how the spirit of Eliphaz had been chafed, that he should now resent in Job a claim to wisdom which he would once have cheerfully conceded, and will no longer

Give him allowance for the better man ;

that he should misconstrue Job's claim to an equal or higher wisdom than his own into a claim to the monopoly of wisdom : and, above all, that, instead of bearing with his friend's infirmity and sympathizing in his sorrows, he should take this mocking and sarcastic tone with him.

Considering how conclusively Job had dealt with Bildad's appeal to antiquity in Chapter xii. Verses 11-13, it is a little wonderful that, in his third question, Eliphaz should have ventured on a similar appeal ; and that he should repeat and elaborate it in the closing Verses of this Chapter. But for the present he does not dwell on it.

He passes from it, in *Verse 11*, to reproach Job with having rejected "the consolations of God," by which he means the assurances which, in God's name, they had given him in the previous Colloquy of deliverance from his misery, restoration to happy conditions, and a tranquil old age, if only he would confess and renounce his guilt ; and with having rejected these consolations although they had urged them upon him in so gentle and considerate a spirit. Some gentleness and consideration they had unquestionably shewn him *from*

their point of view; but as that point of view, the assumption of his guilt, was an intolerable insult to him, and was, moreover, quite wide of the facts, it is no wonder that their "consolations" had proved too small for him.

As Eliphaz thus complacently purrs on, forgetting that "whatever praises itself but in the deed, devours the deed in the praise," possibly some gesture of natural astonishment and indignation on the part of Job arrests him, and reminds him once more of the hard and impious speeches which Job had launched against God; for (*Verses 12 and 13*) he cries, "Whither doth thine heart carry thee away, and at what do thine eyes kindle" with anger? Why, instead of accepting the consolations of God, dost thou fret thy spirit against Him, and respond to our gentleness so ungently? Plainly, the two men are moving along parallel lines—Eliphaz on the assumption of Job's guilt, and Job on the conviction of his own innocence; and, so long as they keep to them, can never meet. They do but chafe each other even when they try to be most reasonable and considerate. Let Eliphaz state his conviction of Job's guilt as indirectly and tenderly as he will, he can but inflame the anger of Job, since it is *that*, and not the form in which it is put, which he resents.

In *Verse 14* Eliphaz quotes Job's own words (Chap. xiv. 1-4) about the inherited and inevitable impurity of man that is born of woman,—striking him with his own weapon, as it were, and convicting him out of his own mouth. In *Verse 15* Eliphaz quotes himself (Chap. iv. 18) on the impurity of the very heavens in God's sight, and on the frailty of the very angels—as if to shew that Job had not yet mastered the very first

lesson he had been taught. And, in *Verse* 16, he draws the inevitable inference from these premises, viz., that if the heavens and the angels are not impeccable, how much less man, who so lusts after iniquity that he drinks it in like water. In short, he repeats the old slander, the Satanic slander, against man, in order that he may thus justify the ways of God.

Of course he intends Job to make a personal application of this terrible description of the depravity of the human race, to see his own face in this distorting glass, and to conclude, let his reason and conscience say what they will, that he *must* be loathsome and unclean before God, possessed by an insatiable thirst for iniquity. How gross the libel, we know; for while Eliphaz was depicting Job as loathsome and unclean to God, God was boasting of him as a perfect man and an upright, who, so far from lusting after evil, eschewed it. And what we know, Job felt. All the diatribes and libels and sarcasms of the Friends were but as a hot malignant wind, against which he must strive as best he could. He did not deny the depravity of man; *i.e.*, he did not deny that in every man there is that which is corrupt and impure; but neither would he deny that, by some men at least, these tendencies to impurity and corruption have been checked and subdued. Men might be unrighteous, but they might also be righteous. Conscious that he himself was upright, he would not draw the inference to which Eliphaz urged him, nor admit that, since all men were impure, he was therefore an open and convicted sinner.

In the second section of his harangue, Eliphaz returns to and expands the point he had touched and

dropped in *Verse* 10. He formally appeals to the wisdom of antiquity, to the sages of old time—just as certain modern divines constantly hark back on “the fathers”—hoping, I suppose, that he may handle this argument more successfully than Bildad had done in Chapter viii., or that at least he might reinforce it by citing another, and a more authoritative, series of traditions. For, while Bildad appealed to the wise men of Egypt, Eliphaz presents a string of proverbs handed down from the ancient sages of the purest-blooded Arabian races, with whom, as himself a Temanite, he would naturally be familiar. As in his first speech he had given weight to his argument by citing a mysterious Oracle from which he had learned that no man can be pure in the sight of his Maker; so now he gives an added force to his argument that the wicked, even when they be in great prosperity, have, and know that they have, a terrible doom impending over them, by quoting from the Arab “fathers” the maxims in which they had expressed this view of the lot of the wicked. Consul Wetzstein affirms that the dogma which these “sayings” illustrate is still a ruling theme of Arab proverb and tradition. Such a feat as stringing together a collection of ancient Arabian “sentences,” and converting them to his own use, is quite in the manner of our Poet, to whom such literary *tours de force* were very dear.¹ And, as we shall see, there are several indications in these sayings themselves that they are of Arabian origin. But, whatever their derivation, they are the answer of Eliphaz to Job’s contention (Chap. xii. Verses 6 *et seq.*) that it is the wicked who prosper, and the pious who are a mark for all the slings and arrows of Misfortune.

¹ Comp. Chap. iv. 10, 11, Chap. vi. 15–20, and Chap. viii. 8–18.

Verses 17-19 are simply the solemn preface which Eliphaz prefixes to his catena of quotations, and correspond to *Verses 12-16* of Chapter iv., in which he introduces the Oracle. But in *Verse 19* there is a markedly Arab touch; for to this day the Arabs lay no less stress on purity of descent than Eliphaz does. And, indeed, it is now admitted that the freer a race is from intermixtures, the purer are its traditions. Obviously Eliphaz insists on this point in order to give weight to the quotations he is about to adduce. When the race from which he sprang was in quiet possession of their own land, before they had corrupted the purity of their blood by intermarriage with other races, they would stand nearer to the fountains of Original Tradition, and would be more likely to keep that living water uncontaminated.

Then, from *Verse 20* onward, follow these maxims of a wise and pure Antiquity. Most of them are very simple, and carry with them the air of a time when men took less subtle and complicated, but also less accurate, views of human life and destiny than we may find even in the Book of Job itself. No one had then questioned the narrow and insufficient dogma, that good comes only and always to the good, and evil only and always to the evil. The moral colours had not then been differentiated; everything was either very white or very black. I need not enter on a formal and detailed exposition of sayings which, for the most part, explain themselves. In *Verses 20-24* we have a graphic description of the uneasy and apprehensive conscience of the sinner. In *Verses 25-27* this restless and haunted conscience is traced to his full-fed and arrogant opposition to the will of God.

All this is simple and plain; but in *Verse 28* the sinner's constant and climbing fear is attributed to a second capital sin, or, rather, to the very climax of his sins. *He dwelt in desolate cities, in houses which none should inhabit, ordained to be ruins;* and as to our English ears there is no sound of offence in such a sin as that, a few words of explanation become requisite. What the Poet means is, I apprehend, that the wicked man he is describing has shewn his contempt for the Divine Will by dwelling in houses or cities which God has judged and cursed for the crimes of their former inhabitants. Such an act as this was held by the Arabs, as by most Oriental races, to be nothing short of a public and deliberate defiance of the Almighty, and is so held to this day. As one who yields to inordinate passion is cast out from the fellowship of the Arabian tribes, and stigmatized as "one who is beaten in his conflict with God;" as no one of them dare pronounce the name of Satan, because God has cursed *him*, without adding, "God's ban on him!" so no man presumes to inhabit places which he believes God has doomed to desolation. Such villages and cities, ruined by frequent judgments, are common in the Arabian Desert. They are held to be places where *the Dîn Ibrâhîm*, i.e., "the religion of Abraham," has been notoriously transgressed. The city of *Nigr*, in Arabia Petræa, for instance, which consists of thousands of dwellings, some richly ornamented, cut in the solid rock, has this doom upon it. Without looking round, and muttering prayers for the Divine protection, the wandering Arab hurries through its deserted streets, as do the caravans of pilgrims on their way to Mecca, not daring to linger, lest they should provoke the wrath

of Heaven. To *dwell* in such a city would be regarded with horror, as a sin so insolent and enormous as to be almost incredible.¹

There may have been such buildings, or even such villages, on Job's vast estate; but, embittered as he was, we can hardly suppose that Eliphaz meant to insinuate that Job had been guilty of a sin at once so easily discovered and so monstrously opposed to all the pious instincts of the time, as to dwell in them, or even to cause his dependants to dwell in them. Eliphaz is quoting, and he might well quote a proverb so picturesque without intending any directly personal application of it. At the same time it is only too probable he meant to insinuate that the enormous and unparalleled calamities of Job suggested that he had been guilty of some sin equally offensive to God.

In *Verse 31* there is a play on words—or rather a play on a word, a *double entendre*—such as is common in Hebrew poetry. The word I have translated “vanity” covers both “evil” and “calamity;” it emphasizes the unreality or nothingness of opposition to the Divine Will and law and order. “Powerful or successful as it may seem for a time, it must prove in the end unprofitable” and disastrous. And under this play on the word “vanity” a Hebrew would instantly detect the meaning that vanity in one sense was to be recompensed by vanity in another, that sin has calamity for its wage.

Verse 32 simply states the fact that this wage for the day is commonly paid *before* evening.

In *Verse 33* we have images familiar to Eastern

¹ I am indebted for this note to Consul Wetzstein, as quoted by Delitzsch *in loco*.

literature, and taken straight from facts which every man might observe for himself. The vine, in its earlier stages especially, and always when it fruits, is very tender, very open to various forms of disease, in which its unripened grapes fall like leaves in autumn. And the Syrian olive, which bears copiously in its first, third, and fifth year, rests from bearing in its second, fourth, and sixth. But it blossoms even during the years of rest, the blossom falling off before the berry is formed. "In spring one may see the bloom, on the slightest breath of wind, shed like snowflakes, and perishing by millions."¹ Such, so transient and so unprofitable, is the life of the wicked ; evanescence and unfruitfulness are written on his lot : so at least thought Eliphaz and the authorities on whom he leaned, surely with a strange blindness to many sufficiently patent facts.

According to him and them, too, as we learn from *Verse* 34, every trace of the wicked man perishes ; not a vestige of him is left to tell of all the labour he did under the sun, or of the doom which fell upon him,—a statement even more untrue to the facts of human life and history than that which preceded it.

S. COX.

THE SAMARITAN ELEMENT IN THE GOSPELS AND ACTS.

I do not purpose in this paper, tempting as the subject is, to take a general survey of the history of the Samaritans, or to discuss the many problems that connect themselves with their earlier or later history. I shall not touch the questions whether they might, as they

¹ Tristram's "Natural History of the Bible."

themselves boasted, claim Jacob as their father,¹ and trace their descent from him through Ephraim and Manasseh;² or were, as their Jewish enemies called them, aliens in blood, Cuthæans pure and simple;³ nor whether, assuming that origin, there had been any later blending of races by marriage or migration; nor to what ethnic affinities the latter name pointed. I shall not inquire whether they were guilty of the three offences of which the later Rabbis accused them, *i.e.*, that they worshipped a golden dove, and denied the Resurrection, and had sacrilegiously despoiled the Hebrew alphabet by robbing it of three of its letters. I shall not even ask what weight we are to attach to the statements of Josephus, that they identified themselves with the Zidonians,⁴ and requested Antiochus Epiphanes to allow their temple on Gerizim to be dedicated to Zeus, the god of the Greeks; nor whether that temple owed its origin to the Sanballat who appears in the Book of Nehemiah,⁵ or, as Josephus⁶ states, to a later apostate of the same name in the time of Alexander. I am content to start with the facts that meet us in the New Testament, and to inquire what inferences may be legitimately drawn from them.

And (1) there is the singular phenomenon of a people claiming to be of the same faith and lineage as their neighbours to south and north and east, and yet scorned and rejected by them. Their sacred books are the same, they keep the same feasts and Sabbaths, they have the same expectations of the Christ

¹ John iv. 12.

² Jos. *Ant.* xi. 8, § 6.

³ This name comes from the list of nations who are mentioned as having been brought by the king of Assyria "from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from Hamath, and from Sepharvaim" (2 Kings xvii. 24).

⁴ *Ant.* xi. 8, § 5; xii. 5, § 5. ⁵ Neh. ii. 10; vi. 1, *et al.* ⁶ *Ant.* xi. 8, § 6.

who shall tell them all things;¹ and yet between them and the Jews, among whom they live, there is a profound and internecine antagonism. The main head and front of their offending is that they have set up a rival sanctuary to that of the temple at Jerusalem, as they pretended—pointing to passages in the Law, which, however, their rivals charged them with altering or interpolating—in accordance with the directions of the great Lawgiver. The antagonism became, as we know, more and more bitter as time passed on. The Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans.² In deliberate scorn they changed, as many have thought, the name of their capital Sychem into Sychar, the city of lies. He who ate a morsel from the hand of a Cuthæan was as one who eats swine's flesh. They fulminated terrible anathemas against them as apostates who were worse than the heathen, prayed that they might have no portion in the resurrection of the dead, and would not even receive a proselyte from the accursed race. The Samaritans, in their turn, revenged themselves by attacking and murdering pilgrims who were bound for the Holy City;³ and, with a grim sense of humour, deceived the Jews who lived at a distance from Jerusalem by giving false signals of the first appearance of the new moon, so that they might lead them to observe the festivals that depended on it on the wrong day.⁴

Every student of the Gospels is familiar with the contrast which the words and acts of the Lord Jesus presented to those of the Rabbis of Jerusalem in relation to this strange people. At the very outset of his

¹ John iv. 25.

² Ibid. iv. 9.

³ Jos. *Ant.* xx. 6, § 1.

⁴ Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* chap. iv. ; Winer, R.W.B. s. v. *Neu Mond*.

ministry He passes through Samaria, and reveals to the Samaritan woman, sinner and outcast as she was, that He is the Christ whom she and her countrymen were expecting not less eagerly than the Jews themselves, and makes known to her the true universality of the worship of the Father.¹ He tarries for two days in the city which lay at the foot of the mountain on which their sanctuary—then, after its destruction by John Hyrcanus in B.C. 129, lying in ruins—had in the old days stood, and numbers its inhabitants among his earliest adherents.²

In the first mission of the Twelve there is, indeed, an express exclusion of the Samaritans from the good news of the kingdom of which the apostles were the bearers;³ but that exclusion is adequately explained by the facts (1) that the law on which He acted gave a priority to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,⁴ and (2) that the disciples, themselves Galileans, and sharing the prejudices of their brethren of Judæa, were not as yet able to receive the truth of the expansion of his kingdom beyond the barriers of race, or the special sanctities of holy places. But in his subsequent teaching we note step by step the gradual education which was to overcome their inherited prepossessions. Again and again He leads his disciples through the regions of Samaria. He singles out the Samaritan leper as one in whom He found an example of faith and gratitude which He had not found in Israel.⁵ In the parable of the Good Samaritan—if indeed it be a parable, and not a history—the hated alien is brought before them as the true pattern of the love

¹ John iv. 21.² Ibid. iv. 41, 42.³ Matt. x. 5.⁴ Ibid. xv. 24.⁵ Luke xvii. 16.

which sees a neighbour in every man by virtue of his humanity, as contrasted with the narrow hardness of the priest and Levite.¹ When in the journeys of which I have spoken He was met with rejection and exclusion because it was known that He was on his way to Jerusalem, He represses the fiery zeal of the Sons of Thunder, who sought to call down fire from heaven upon the offenders, as Elijah had done on the soldiers of Ahaziah,² and tells them that they know not what manner of spirit they are of.³ In one instance it would seem probable that He actually kept the early days of the Feast of Tabernacles, not in Jerusalem, nor in his own home in Galilee, but in the company of the alien people.⁴

The Jews, who, during that Feast, hurled their reproaches at Him as being Himself a Samaritan,⁵ would seem to have had some suspicion of the fact, or, at least, to have known to what extent He had shewn his sympathy for the people whom they hated. We cannot be wrong in tracing a latent reference to them, as well as to the outlying nations of the heathen world, in the words, uttered, it will be remembered, during that very feast, which spoke of the "other sheep" who were not of the fold of the outward Israel, for whom, as for Israel, He, the Good Shepherd, was content to lay down his life, and whom He was one day to gather together, so

¹ Luke x. 33.

² 2 Kings i. 10, 12.

³ Luke ix. 52.

⁴ John vii. 10. When the brethren of the Lord bid Him go up to the Feast, He tells them that his time for doing so had not yet come. He then journeys secretly, and appears in the courts of the Temple on the third or fourth day of the Feast. It follows from this that if he went after them, taking the road by which the Galilean pilgrims usually travelled (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 5, § 1), He must, as at other times, have passed through Samaria. It is possible that the incident of Luke ix. 52, above referred to, may have been connected with this journey. In Tischendorf's harmonistic arrangement (*Synop. Evan.* § 77-79) the two incidents are placed in close juxtaposition.

⁵ John viii. 48.

that there might be one flock and one Shepherd.¹ And when the final mission is given by Him to his apostles after his Ascension, they hear words that must have appeared to them as an express and formal withdrawal of the limit that had at first been set to their work as evangelists, and which had been already tacitly cancelled by its absence from the commission given to the Seventy.² They were told that they were to be "his witnesses" in "*Judæa and Samaria*, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth."³ We know how, in a few months, the course of events brought about with unlooked-for rapidity the fulfilment of that command. In the dispersion that followed on the persecution of which Stephen was the victim, Philip, who, of the whole company of the Seventy, was obviously nearest to the martyr in spirit and power, went down to Samaria, and found in very deed that the good seed had been already sown, and that the fields were white already for the harvest.⁴ The woman of Samaria may have been one of those who shared in the great joy of that city.⁵ Where the wisest of the teachers of Israel had seen only those whom his heart abhorred, that "sat upon the mountains of Samaria," and the "foolish people that dwelt at Sychem,"⁶ there was now planted an organized society as a living branch of the great family of God, the universal Church of Christ. The apostles felt, when they heard that Samaria had received the word of God, that the time had come for them to act on their Lord's command, and Peter and John went down, not now to call down fire from heaven to destroy, but to give to those that sought it that bap-

¹ John x. 16.² Luke x. 1-16.³ Acts i. 8.⁴ John iv. 35; Acts viii. 5.⁵ Ibid. viii. 8, 12.⁶ Eccclus. i. 26.

tism with the Holy Ghost and with fire which was to illumine, to kindle, and to purify.¹

With the strange episode of Simon the sorcerer—except so far as it shews the craving of the Samaritans, a craving roused, we may well believe, by the impression which our Lord's visit had left behind it, for a higher knowledge of God than had satisfied their fathers—I am not now concerned; but it is important to remember that the work of the apostles was not limited to the single city, whether it were Sebaste (Samaria) or Neapolis (Sychem), to which they first came. "They preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans." There was a Samaritan Church almost as numerous and influential as that of Judæa. We can well understand the effect that these tidings would have upon the Sadducean priesthood and the more zealous Pharisees. They would hear that the Samaritans had joined the Galileans in their acknowledgment of Jesus as the Christ. The words of Stephen, that "the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," and the inference which had been drawn from this that he had taught that Jesus of Nazareth should destroy the temple, and that he had thus blasphemed the Holy Place and the Law,² were now seen in the light of the events that followed on them. We may well believe that a larger share than it is commonly credited with must be assigned to this admission of the Samaritans as working on the mind of Saul of Tarsus, already kindled into rage by Stephen's teaching, and rousing him to the white heat of the frenzy of fanaticism. If he followed the usual road to Damascus, as shewn in the Roman Itineraries,³ and the

¹ Matt. iii. 11; Acts viii. 17.

² Ibid. vi. 13; vii. 48.

³ See map in Conybeare and Howson's "St. Paul," vol. i. p. 92.

traditions of the scribes allowed that even the strictest Pharisees might take it without defilement, he must have passed through Sychem itself, and been stirred to the "exceeding madness," to which he himself afterwards pleads guilty, by seeing there and in every village in Samaria those who held the faith which he was commissioned to destroy. By that road he may have returned again, when he came to Jerusalem after his conversion. Once again, we know, he passed through that country, and on a very different mission. He and his companion Barnabas were going up to Jerusalem, to contend for the freedom of the Gentile Churches.¹ They went, as feeling that the Samaritans had a common interest with them, "through Phœnice and Samaria." They told them of the conversion of the Gentiles, and once again "there was great joy in that city," and throughout the whole region. We can scarcely doubt that they would return to Antioch by the same route when he and his fellow-travellers brought with them that decree of the Council of Jerusalem which was accepted as the Great Charter of the freedom of the Gentile Churches, and which, legitimately enough, was held to include the Samaritans in the range of its concessions. In emancipating all who were not of the seed of Abraham according to the flesh from any obligation to obey the ceremonial law of Moses, it practically left the Samaritans free to worship, if they thought fit, on the mountain of Gerizim—the temple, as we have seen, was no longer standing—as the apostles worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem; to eat their passover, and keep their other feasts, after the manner of their fathers. It

¹ Acts xv. 3.

invited them to join in that new and higher worship which was before long to supersede the ritual of both the sanctuaries, and to unite Samaritan and Jew alike with all who "worship the Father in spirit and in truth."

Here, so far as the New Testament is concerned, our knowledge of Samaria ends, and I do not now care, full of interest though they are to the student of Church history, to follow the legends of the Clementine "Homilies" and "Recognitions," which have transformed the sorcerer of Samaria into "the hero of the romance of heresy." I aim, however, at something more than a mere review of familiar facts, even though that review may have placed some of them in a light which may be comparatively new. We need here also, in dealing with the facts themselves, and with the channels through which we know them, that *prudens interrogatio* which is, as the Master of the Wise has taught us, as the *dimidium scientiæ*. In following the method in which the great scholars of Germany have led the way, not as accepting all the theories which they have elaborated as to the tendencies and aims of the books of the New Testament, but as thankful to them for having taught us how to work upon their lines, we may enter on that questioning process, and find that it leads us to results of no little interest.

It is obvious on the surface that it is to St. John and to St. Luke, pre-eminently to the latter, that we owe nearly all that the New Testament brings before us as to these Samaritans. In St. Matthew the name meets us only in the command which forbids the apostles, on their first journey, to enter into any of their cities.¹

¹ Matt. x. 5.

In St. Mark it does not occur at all, nor, indeed, in any other of the canonical books but the Gospel of the beloved disciple and the two books which we owe to Luke the physician. Of the latter we know that he was not himself one of the eye-witnesses of the things which he relates,¹ and it is therefore a legitimate question to ask, Who were probably his informants? As far as much of our Lord's ministry is concerned, we get, as I have endeavoured to shew elsewhere,² a satisfactory explanation of many of the most characteristic features of his Gospel by supposing that he obtained his knowledge partly through the "devout women" who followed our Lord, or from members of the Herodian family and household. I do not exclude those informants here, but it is obvious that, as regards one large section of the facts which have come under our notice, there was another who, as having been a chief actor in the work, could give a report which a historian like St. Luke would welcome, as likely to be accurate. When the writer of the Acts accompanied St. Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem, they stayed "many days" at Cæsarea, in the house of Philip the Evangelist.³ From him he may well have heard all the history in which he had played so prominent a part: the murmuring of the Hellenistic Jews against the Hebrews, the speech and the death of Stephen, his own mission in Samaria, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch and of Cornelius. In that mission he, the Evangelist in the old sense of that word, must have come across not a few who remembered our Lord's visits to their cities or villages; and it is surely not improbable that what

¹ Luke i. 2.

² Introduction to St. Luke, in Bishop Ellicott's "New Testament Commentary for English Readers."

³ Acts xxi. 8, 9.

St. Luke thus heard from Philip led him, during St. Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea, to travel into Samaria, and there to collect the materials his use of which made him an Evangelist in the later and more technical sense.

It is obvious, however, that this hypothesis does but carry us back to a yet further question. What, we ask, led Philip to take the lead in this work of evangelizing Samaria? The tradition of the early Church (I admit, however, that it is not known to be earlier than Epiphanius), that both he and Stephen had been of the number of the Seventy, is at least probable in itself, and it has the merit of explaining some of the phenomena that have come before us. It is hardly conceivable that men should have been chosen for a conspicuous work at that early stage of the Church's growth unless they had been of the number of the disciples who had been witnesses of the Resurrection. Those who had been chosen by their Lord to prepare his way were, next to the apostles, prominent above all other disciples. The number "seventy" implied, as I have shewn in a note on Luke x. 1,¹ that they represented those who were to be as the prophets of the new Society, corresponding to the seventy elders on whom the Spirit of the Lord came in the company of the older Israel;² and as such they would naturally be among those who would be recognized by the Church at Jerusalem as "full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom."³ We are at no loss as to the occasion or the conditions of that mission of the Seventy. It came soon after that Feast of Tabernacles which our Lord had begun in Samaria,

¹ "New Testament Commentary for English Readers."

² Num. xi. 16.

³ Acts. vi. 3.

and in which He Himself had been reproached as a Samaritan. It followed close upon the refusal of the Samaritan village to receive the Lord Jesus, and the request of James and John that they might call down fire from heaven.¹ It was followed almost as closely by the parable of the Good Samaritan,² as if He meant to shew that He was persuaded better things even of those who had thus rejected Him. The disciples were to learn that the law, *meliora latent*, was applicable there also. The very number seventy, reminding men as it did of the seventy oxen that were offered at the Feast of Tabernacles for all the nations of the world, was symbolic of an expansion from which Samaria would not be excluded. And the Seventy were sent, two and two before his face, into every city and place whither He Himself would come;³ and his journeyings at that stage of his ministry, while they tended ultimately to Jerusalem, led Him, we are told, "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee,"⁴ and so it was that He was brought into contact with the Samaritan leper. It hardly admits of a doubt, accordingly, that Samaria was the chief mission field of the Seventy; that it was there that they had seen the devils subject to them in their Master's name; there that He had beheld in vision, "Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven."⁵ On this supposition, then, Philip's mission work in Samaria was the continuation of the good work which He had then begun. As his namesake the Apostle had been the first to bring Greek, *i.e.*, Gentile, worshippers to the feet of Christ, so he felt himself called to bring in the outcast Cuthæans. He had no antipathies to over-

¹ Luke ix. 52.² Ibid. x. 33.³ Ibid. x. 1.⁴ Ibid. xvii. 11.⁵ Ibid. x. 17, 18.

come. He had already learnt to think of the Samaritans as those who, though in "the highways and hedges," were bidden by his voice to the marriage supper of the King.¹

There was then, if this conclusion is legitimate, a Samaritan element in that company of the seven so-called Deacons, a Samaritan factor in the problem which at that time presented itself. But here the record of St. John comes in, and throws yet further light on the question with which we have to deal. The whole speech of Stephen is hardly more than a historical expansion of the truth which our Lord had proclaimed in his conversation with the woman of Samaria,²—"The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father; . . . but the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." It is as though that great thought had sunk deep into his mind, as though his past work as one of the wider fellowship of the Seventy had given him manifold illustrations of its truth, and he felt that the time had come when it was right to proclaim it, regardless of consequences, even though it might stir up priests and people to the madness of rage or hatred, and even alienate the better portion of the Pharisees, who, like Gamaliel, had hitherto advocated a policy of moderation.

But, if I mistake not, the fact of these Samaritan associations offers also a more adequate explanation than any that are commonly received of at least one of the difficulties, which to some minds have been serious stumbling-blocks, in St. Stephen's speech. He states

¹ Luke xiv. 23.

² John iv. 21.

incidentally that Jacob went down into Egypt and died, "he, and our fathers," and "were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the sepulchre that Abraham bought for a sum of money of the sons of Emmor the father of Sychem."¹ We turn to the narrative of Genesis, and we find that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were buried, not in Sychem, but in the cave of Machpelah, which was bought of the "children of Heth;"² that, with the one exception of Joseph, there is no record of the burial-place of any of the sons of Jacob; and that the ground at Sychem was bought of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, not by Abraham, but by Jacob.³

I need not now discuss the explanations which have been given by many commentators of this apparent contradiction. It is not wise, on the one hand, to start in such an inquiry with a preconceived theory that there can be no historical inaccuracy in such a speech as Stephen's; nor to assume, on the other, that St. Luke's narrative must be throughout untrustworthy because he reports a speech that contains such inaccuracies. The more natural conclusion is that one who so reported what a moment's reference to the Greek version of Genesis would have enabled him to correct, must have been at least a faithful reporter, who reproduced the document that was placed before him, or took down what he heard from the lips of his informant. And if that informant, whether Philip or another, or Stephen himself, had been brought into contact with the Samaritans, and come under the influence of their traditions, we have, at least, a natural explanation as

¹ Acts vii. 15, 16.

² Gen. xxv. 9; xxxv. 29; l. 13.

³ Ibid. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32.

to the source from which the statement, whether accurate or inaccurate, was derived. We know how the national pride of the Samaritans sought to enhance the reputation of their sacred places by manipulating the sacred text. To the Ten Commandments¹ they added an eleventh, that the Israelites were to write the words of the law on two tables of stone, and to set them on Gerizim, and there to build an altar and offer sacrifices. In Deuteronomy xi. 29 they read Gerizim instead of Ebal, as the place on which the memorial altar was to be dedicated. Gerizim, according to their traditions, adopted by many modern scholars, was identical with the Mount Moriah on which Abraham had offered his son.² On it Adam and Seth had offered sacrifices, and it had risen high, like Ararat, above the waters of the Flood. It was there that Abraham had had his memorable interview with Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God.³ There was the well which bore Jacob's name, and the parcel of ground which he had given to Joseph.⁴ There was the tomb of Joseph,⁵ and, according to one tradition, which Stephen apparently followed, that of his brethren also. Popular unwritten history in the East is not careful about accuracy and consistency in such matters, is regardless of anachronisms and other chronological difficulties, and builds its conclusions on a slender groundwork of fact. Now what strikes one in the statement in Stephen's speech, with which we are now dealing, is that it is precisely such as was likely to have originated in a Samaritan tradition of the kind of those that have just been mentioned. Abraham had rested at the "place of Sychem" on his entry into the

¹ Exod. xx. 18, in the Samaritan Text.

³ Ibid. xiv. 18.

⁴ John iv. 5, 6.

² Gen. xxii. 2.

⁵ Josh. xxiv. 32.

land of Canaan, and had built there an altar unto the Lord.¹ The land on which the altar was thus built must in some way have been transferred to him for that purpose. Men do not erect their sanctuaries on land which is exposed to daily desecration. The children of Hamor, the *B'nè Hamor*, of whom Jacob bought the land, are obviously not literally the sons of Hamor, but the tribe which bore that name; and the Hamor who appears in the history of Jacob must accordingly, in all probability, have taken the name of his ancestor, as Shechem took his from the town at the foot of Gerizim. In the paronomastic promise of Jacob to Joseph in Genesis xlviii. 22—"I have given thee one portion (one *Shechem*) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow"—we have a reference to some unrecorded acquisition of land at Shechem, which was clearly distinct, on the one hand, from that for which the money was paid peaceably, and, on the other, from that which had been gained by the violence of Simeon and Levi, which Jacob lamented and condemned.² The act referred to implies the assertion of some ancestral rights, and if we suppose some such purchase as that which Stephen—following what there seems reason to regard as a Samaritan tradition—describes as having been made by Abraham when he first came to Shechem, and sought to secure the spot on which he had built his altar from desecration, we get an adequate explanation of what at first appears a grave and almost incompre-

¹ Gen. xii. 6.

² Ibid. xlix. 6, 7. The assumption made by many Commentators, that Jacob's words referred, not to the past, but to the future, and were prophetic of the future conquest of the land by his descendants, hardly calls for notice, except as an instance of the extent to which a non-natural method of interpretation is sometimes carried.

hensible inaccuracy. It is not without interest, in its bearing on this question, to note the fact that there were conflicting traditions even as to the burial-place of the Twelve Patriarchs. Josephus,¹ obviously reporting as from personal observation, states that they were interred at Hebron, and that their sepulchres, which he describes as being of marble and richly sculptured, were shewn in his time. On the other hand, Rabbinic writers, quoted by Wetstein and Lightfoot,² report them to have been buried at Sychem, and Jerome,³ mentioning Sychem among the places to which Paula had made a pilgrimage, states that she turned aside to see their sepulchres. Here then we have abundant evidence that each locality had its traditions, diametrically at variance with those of its rival. If this were so as to the temple and the sepulchre, the sacrifice of Isaac and the meeting with Melchizedek, was it strange that there should be the tradition of the purchase of a piece of ground at Shechem by Abraham to set against the record of the purchase at Hebron of that piece of ground as taking in the sepulchre of the Patriarchs? The Samaritans were hardly likely to leave their Jewish enemies in undisputed possession of that prerogative. Was it wonderful that Stephen, with his Samaritan associations, should follow the former rather than the latter? May not this also have been one of the factors in the rage and frenzy which led the multitude of Jerusalem to gnash their teeth as Stephen spake, and rush on him and stone him to death? Were they not likely to see in his proclamation of the truth that the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands, a

¹ *Ant.* ii. 8, § 2.² *Hor. Heb.* on Acts vii.³ *Epitaph. Paula.*

covert plea for the sanctity of Gerizim, where the temple had been destroyed, as against the claims of the temple at Jerusalem, which was still standing? Even the name of the Most High God, which Stephen thus uses, was identified more or less closely with Samaritan associations. It first appears in the history of Melchizedek, in the scene at Salem, which they identified with a spot close to Shechem. The Aramaic equivalent, *Elion*, was the name of a god worshipped at Tyre and Zidon,¹ and the Samaritans, as Josephus states, identified themselves with the Zidonians.

It will hardly be questioned, I think, that the conclusion which I have ventured to suggest as at least probable, adds much to the interest of the history of Stephen and of Philip, as representing the first great expansion in the growth of the Apostolic Church. It serves to shew how they had been trained for their work in that expansion, what natural leanings and past associations might make them active in it. It explains, in part at least, how it was that Pharisees who had acquiesced in the teaching of the apostles burst out in passionate hatred at that of Stephen. It brings before us the great Apostle of the Gentiles, not only as working on to the breaking down of barriers, and the freedom of St. Stephen's lines generally, in all that he taught as worship, and the equal sanctity of all places where men worship the Father; but as specially continuing the work in which Philip certainly, and Stephen probably, had taken an active share, and bringing himself to join in acts of brotherhood and kindness with the Samaritans, whom he and other Pharisees had once

¹ Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* i. 10.

anathematized. Knowing, as we do, that the Samaritans had a synagogue of their own at Damascus, it is not improbable that it was among them that he expected to find his victims, among them that he disclosed the wondrous tale of the vision that had changed the whole tenour of his life.

E. H. PLUMPTRE.

A TALMUDIC CRYPTOGRAPH; AND SOME OF THE RABBIS.

I ENDED my last paper on "Christians in the Talmud" with an allegory, or cryptograph, which there was no space to explain. It was, briefly, the story that Abba Saul, while burying the dead, sank up to the nose in the eye-socket of a corpse, which was said to be Absalom's. Yet Abba Saul was the tallest man of his age; being a head and shoulders taller than Rabbi Tarphon; who was so much taller than R. Akibha; and he than R. Meir; and he than R. Judah; and he than R. Chija; and he than Rabh; and he than Rabh Juda; and he than Adda Dialah—each of these being the tallest men of their respective periods. Adda Dialah was a head and shoulders taller than the pistachio tree of Pumbaditha, and that pistachio tree was twice as high as common people.

This story occurs in Nidda (xxiv. 6; xxv. a),¹ and has often been made a subject of ridicule. Of course, if it were ever meant to be taken literally, nothing could be more revoltingly absurd, or contradictory to Scripture and to common sense. It has been adduced to prove the senseless character of the Talmudic stories;

¹ Nidda is the Seventh Mesikta, or treatise, of the Seder Taharoth ("Order of Purifications"), which is the sixth and last division of the Talmud.

nor was this unnatural so long as its esoteric meaning continued unsuspected and unexplained. If, however, we look a little closer, we shall readily accept the explanation of the story offered by modern Jews, and there may be some interest in doing this, because it will enable us to glance at the names of some of the most celebrated Rabbis which are brought before us in this single paragraph. It is known that some of these Rabbis were the deadliest enemies of the Christian faith, and it is probable that they are here mentioned because the Jews regarded them as the ablest Talmudic controversialists against the Christian teachers.

Let us begin at the end.

1. Common men, it is said, were only half as tall as the *pistachio tree of Pumbaditha*.¹ Since the sense is not literal, "tallness" throughout this allegory can only mean intellectual power; and as the pistachio tree of Pumbaditha may very well stand as an emblem of the Rabbinic school of that place, the obvious meaning is that any average person had only half the knowledge and wisdom of the scholars trained in the methods and lore of the Rabbis of Pumbaditha.

This school is often alluded to in the Talmud. After the return from the Captivity, so many thousands of Jews continued to live in prosperity in Babylonia, that a Jewish proverb says that the exiles who returned to Jerusalem were, in comparison to those who remained in the land of their captivity, as the chaff to the wheat. On the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and as far as the Persian Gulf, vast colonies of Jewish merchants continued to flourish for generations under the

¹ For "pistachio" there appears to be another reading, *prosthebaino*, which may be intended to indicate the leading members of the school.

Arsacid and Sassanid dynasties. They were generally known as the *Gola*, or Dispersion, in Chaldee, *Glutha*, which corresponds to the Greek word *Diaspora*.¹ They had great traditions of their own, and, among other consolations of their exile, recorded that Ezra had built a synagogue at Shafjatib, near the Tigris, which enshrined some of the relics of the Temple, and in which the Jews of the *Gola* believed for centuries that "the Shekinah had been enthroned." But in spite of their national pride they loyally acknowledged the supremacy of Jerusalem, and scrupulously paid the didrachms of the Temple tribute. After the fall of Jerusalem they naturally ceased to send contributions which merely went to swell the riches of the Roman treasury, nor were they inclined to acquiesce without dispute in the supreme authority of the Palestinian *Nasi*. They accordingly established a civil chief of their own, whose title was *Resh Glutha*, or "Prince of the Captivity." This officer was maintained in great wealth and splendour, but his authority was mainly civil, and was successfully resisted by the eminent Rabbis of the Schools which soon became the glory of the Babylonian colonists. The most famous of these Schools of the *Gola* were those of Nehardea, on a canal which united the Tigris and the Euphrates; of Sora (sometimes called Matha Mahasia), on the Euphrates; and of Pumbaditha, which became the most famous of the three, and which stood so high in general esteem as to originate the expression, "the acute scholars of Pumbaditha" (*Charifeda Pumbaditha*),² and the proverb—unfavourable to the use which they made of their acuteness—"if a Pumbadithan accompanies you, change your inn."

¹ James i. 1; Peter i. 1.

² Grätz, *Gesch. d. Juden*, iv. 346, 270.

2. Whatever may have been the general attainments of the Pumbadithans, they were entirely surpassed by ADDA DIALAH; they could not—as we might say colloquially, using the very same expression—“reach up to his shoulders.” Over this Adda Dialah some uncertainty seems to hang. According to one account, he was merely a servant of the synagogue; according to another, “Dialah” means “the period,” and Adda is the author of the calendar which is still in use.¹

3. Yet Adda stood far below Rabh Juda, the tallest, *i. e.*, the ablest and most learned, man of his age. This RABH JUDA BAR JECHESKEEL (born A.D. 220, died A.D. 299) was the founder of the school of Pumbaditha, over which he presided for forty years. In this high position he contributed much to the peculiar dialectic method adopted in the Talmud. His name stands very high among the Talmudists, who have given him the title of *Shinnana*, “the subtle.” He was chiefly conspicuous for opposing with his utmost energy all attempts to return from Babylonia to Judæa; for emancipating the Rabbis from the authority of the Resh Glutha; and also for the fanatical accuracy on which he insisted in proving purity of blood. It was this genealogical bigotry which made him say of the Palmyrene Jews—who had by no means maintained the purity of their race—that “Israel must establish a new festival when Tadmor was destroyed.” He even kept his son Izaak long unmarried, because he could not feel entirely satisfied as to the stainless Jewish lineage of any family with which he could ally himself. He usually delivered his Halachôth in the names of Rabh and of Samuel, but his brother R. Ami openly declared

¹ * Some confused account of him may be found in the *Bibliotheca Hebraica* of Wolf, i. 109.

that his reports of these decisions were entirely untrustworthy. The remark is perhaps one of many signs that his fanatical insistence on pure Hebrew descent had roused against him a host of bitter enemies.

4. Yet more eminent than Rabh Juda bar Jecheskeel was the celebrated ABBA AREKKA, president of the schools, first of Nahardea and then of Sora, and usually distinguished by the title of RABH. He died A.D. 243, and his revision of the Mishna constituted the text of the Babylonian Talmud.¹ He is the author of the Siphra, a comment on Leviticus, and the Siphri, a similar comment on Numbers and Deuteronomy. He had some share in arranging the Pentateuch into books, texts, and chapters, and he contributed some of the finest prayers to the Jewish liturgies. He occupied the same distinguished position among the Jews of the Gola as was occupied by Rabbi Jehuda—the editor of the Mishna—among the Palestinian Schools. Rabh was a veritable Hebrew of the Hebrews, being scarcely less particular than his disciple Rabbi Jehuda as to purity of race; and yet so contemptuous an opponent was he of that Shammaite decision respecting the invalidity of divorce except in cases of unfaithfulness, that he is one of the Rabbis who was shameless enough, on arriving at a town, to send round the crier to announce that he would marry any woman for one day.² Modern Jews declare in his defence that this was not done out of licentiousness, but because he chose to embrace the loose view of the school of Hillel, which

¹ Etheridge, *Hebr. Lit.* p. 157.

² Kiddoushin, i; Bab. Joma, f. 18, 1. See, on the controversy about the *ervath dabhar* (Deut. xxiv. 1, 2), "nakedness of a matter," my "Life of Christ," ii. 150. It is said that Rabh did this when he went to Darsisa, whither he used to go frequently; and the same disgraceful story is told of Rabh Nachman at Sacnezib. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ad Matt. xix. 3.

declared that the "matter of nakedness" (the *ervath dabhar*), which Moses had allowed to be a sufficient ground for divorce, might be explained to mean that a man might divorce his wife for almost any reason—even, as R. Akibha said, "if he saw another woman who pleased him better;" even (we find in Gittin)¹ "if she put too much salt in his soup." The energetic adoption of this debasing view was meant, however, not by way of honour towards Hillel, but solely with a view to *flouting the Christians*, who—in accordance with the express teachings of Christ respecting the question which had been so long and so fiercely agitated in the Jewish schools—attached so high an importance to monogamy and to the absolute sacredness of the marriage tie.

5. Greater even than Rabh was his uncle, RABBI CHIJA, the contemporary and colleague of R. Juda Hakko-desh, whose memory and knowledge were such that it was said that "if the law were lost, he would be able to restore it from memory." Almost all that we hear of this Rabbi is so winning, that he stands next to "the sweet and noble Hillel"—if not even before him—in our esteem. When Rabbi Juda asked the Prophet Elijah "whether there were any living men so pious as the old patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob?" he said, "Yes; there are R. Chija and his sons."² One of the beautiful stories of his gentleness is that when Rabh was sick, and in consequence lost his memory, R. Chija with patient tenderness recalled to him by slow degrees his former knowledge. "I took care that the Law should not be forgotten," he once remarked to R. Chanina. "I sowed flax, knitted nets, caught deer

¹ Gittin, f. 90, 1; Meuschen ad Matt. v. 31.

² Babha Metzia, 85, b.

with them, gave the venison to orphans, and with the skins made rolls on which to write the Scriptures. Where there was no schoolmaster, I taught the five books of Moses to five children, and the six books of the Mishna to six boys, and taught them to teach to one another what each had learnt."¹ And yet R. Chija was so humble that, whereas, on hearing this story, Rabbi (who used to speak of him as "the man of his counsel") exclaimed, "How great are the deeds of R. Chija!" he himself said to R. Hannina, "*You* will rival me." Though he sprang from a noble and priestly family, he was exceedingly poor, and having left his native Babylonia for Judæa, he was long supported by the tithes given to him by the wealthy House of Silvani, in Tiberias. Having, however, on one occasion declared something to be unlawful for them which another Rabbi permitted, they revenged themselves by withdrawing his income; and he then determined that he would never again accept tithes from any one, lest, by doing so, his impartiality should be corrupted. In order to secure a maintenance, he was therefore obliged to travel as an emissary of Rabbi to foreign lands. The devoted study of Chija was however given so exclusively to the Oral Law (*Thorah Shebeal pî*), that he entirely neglected the Written Law; and being asked on one occasion why the word "good" does not occur in the Decalogue, he gave the startling reply that "he scarcely knew whether that word occurred there or not."²

¹ Babha Metzia, 5, a. Anecdotes about him are found in Chagiga, i, 76, d; Nedarim, xi. *ad fin.*; sc. Grätz. iv. 305.

² Babha Kama, 56, a. Other passages, however, attribute to him a considerable knowledge of Scripture. Among other critical views, he held that the Book of Job was the work of a Gentile. See Hamburger, *Realencycl.* ii. s. v. Chia.

6. TO RABBI JUDA, who surpassed R. Chija, we have already alluded. He was to the Palestinian Jews and the school of Tiberias what Rabh was to the Jews of the Gola and the schools of Sora and Pumbaditha. The Talmudists delight to heap upon him titles of respect and eminence. He is Hannasi—the Nasi or President, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*; he is Hakkodesh, “the holy;” he is Rabbenu, “our master;” he is Rabbi Rabba; and he is emphatically RABBI, who need be alluded to by no other name. So vast was the influence which he wielded, that, during his lifetime, he was *sole* President of the Sanhedrin, and the offices of second and third presidents—the Ab beth din and the Chacham—were thought superfluous. The Talmud says of him, that never since the days of Moses had authority and knowledge of the Law been so completely united in one person.¹ The Jews, in order to connect him with R. Akibha²—“one sun rising as another set”—say that he was born A.D. 135, in the year that Akibha died. Besides his other gifts and attainments, he was so wealthy as to originate the proverb that “his cow-stalls were more valuable than the treasures of the king of Persia;” and his steward became rich by only selling the sweepings of them. His munificence to the poor, and especially to poor students, greatly tended to enhance his fame. But the most enduring monument of that fame is the complete elaboration of the Mishna. Up to his time it had been

¹ Bab. Sanhedr. 36, a.

² “Mar said, ‘On the day when R. Akibha died, Rabbi was born; on the day when Rabbi died, Rabh Jehuda was born; on the day when R. Jehuda died, Rabba was born; on the day when Rabba died, Rabh Asshi was born.’ It teacheth thee that no righteous man departs before another equally righteous is born; as it is said, ‘The sun rises and the sun sets’ (Eccles. i. 4). The sun of Eli had not set before that of Samuel rose” (1 Sam. iii. 3).—Kiddoushin, 72, 2.

considered almost an impiety to reduce to writing even a single Halacha of the Oral Law; but the logic of facts is irresistible, and R. Juda saw that unless it were now published in an authoritative form it might at any time be forgotten or corrupted. It is true that some Halachôth must have been committed to writing before his time, in such a way as especially to reflect the views of R. Akibha and R. Meir, but Rabbi reduced to order and system the conflicting testimonies, and supported by reasoning and by references the best-established conclusions. His work was at first known as the Mishna of R. Juda; but its authority so completely transcended that of all other Rabbis, that his work became known simply by the name of "The Mishna" (*i.e.*, the repetition of the Law), and was disseminated throughout the world among all Jewish communities. His hostility to Christians is best illustrated by his saying that heretics (Minim)¹ have no share in the future life.

7. Yet R. MEIR was greater even than Rabbi. He is one of the most original of the Rabbis, and his life was singularly varied and eventful. His real name was Miasa, probably a corruption of Moses, and his name Meir means "the Illuminating," in accordance with his title of "the Light of the Law." He was not of pure Hebrew extraction, and the Jewish assertion that he was descended from Nero—whom they believe to have escaped from his pursuers and become a convert to Judaism—may perhaps be intended as an insult

¹ The derivation of the word is disputed. One account derives it from the initial letters of the words, "believers in Jesus of Nazareth" (מאמיני ישוע נצרי). This way of forming words and names by initial letters was common among the Jews (compare Rashi, Rambam, Makkab, &c.), and I have illustrated it in a previous paper in THE EXPOSITOR on Rabbinic Exegesis.

to the Christians, who fancied that Nero would return to life as the Antichrist. He was probably born in the Cappadocian Cæsarea, and his profession was that of a copyist of the Scriptures, in which his success was partly due to his consummate knowledge of the Masoretic punctuation, and partly to the secret of rendering his ink bright and durable by an infusion of blue vitriol. On one occasion, not having a manuscript of Esther at hand, he wrote out the entire book from memory, without a single mistake. The subtlety of R. Akibha attracted him, and he left his former teacher, R. Ishmael, to become one of Akibha's most honoured pupils. He stands pre-eminent among the Rabbis for his wit, his fables, his large-heartedness, his charity, and his adventures. He was liberal enough to maintain a friendship with the heathen philosopher, Euonymos of Gadara, and his kindly breadth of character induced him to labour to bring about the repentance and forgiveness of the wretched apostate *Acher*. The real name of this unfortunate person was Elisha ben Abayu, and he was famous for his learning, until becoming acquainted with "heretical" writings—probably those of the Gnostics—he not only abandoned his religion, but plunged into the gross immorality which some of the Gnostic sects deliberately defended. Hence the Jews, obliterating his real name, called him Acher, "another," just as they would not name a pig, but called it "the other thing." R. Meir, however, would not desert the fallen Rabbi, even though the people indignantly called him *Acherim*—an anagram of Acher and Meir. To defend himself, he said that when he found a rotten pomegranate, he threw away the rind but ate the kernel. His intercourse with Euonymos he justified

by the remark that God had said, "*Man* shall observe the Law, and walk in it; not Priests, nor Levites, nor even Israelites, but *men*;" so that the Gentile who keeps the Law is as much to be honoured as the high priest." His learning was so remarkable, that the Talmudists gave him the title of "the rooter up of mountains"¹ and said that "were a man but to grasp the staff of R. Meir, he would become wise."² The one fault of this eminent Rabbi seems to have been a certain jealous opposition of the authority of Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel, when he became the Nasi and founder of the school of Tiberias. It is in consequence of this that the name of R. Meir scarcely ever occurs in the Mishna. Rabbi Juda Haḥkodesh resented Meir's opposition to his father, and whenever he has occasion to refer to any of his decisions, does so without mentioning his name.

It is here worth while to digress for a moment, in order to say a word about this Elisha ben Abayu, who is hardly ever referred to except under his nickname of Acher, or sometimes in the plural, Acherim. Many strange stories are told about him, and some have even fancied that the name itself is only an invention; that it means, "God the Saviour, Son of the Father," and is one of the secret names under which the Talmudists hid their allusions to Christ. In this conjecture there is no probability, and marvellous as are the tales which are mixed up with his name, there seems to be no reason to doubt his historic existence. Much that is narrated of him is an oblique polemic against Chris-

¹ Cf. Matt. xvii. 20; xxi. 21. The title was given to Resh Lakish, &c. See Berachôth, 64, 1; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* xxi. 21.

² Jer. Nedarim, ix. 41, 6; Grätz, iv. 191.

tianity. It is said, for instance, that he saw Metatron sitting, by permission, to record the merits of Israel, and exclaimed that "it was laid down by the wise that in heaven there was no sitting, nor short sight, nor anger, nor fatigue. Are there then *two* principles?" Upon this they brought forth Metatron, and gave him sixty lashes with a rod of fire, to shew that he is not superior to other angels. Metatron, by way of revenge, obtained leave to erase the merits of Acher as one who was a great student of the Law, and a Bath Kol exclaimed, "Return ye backsliding children (Jer. iii. 2), except Acher." Acher then said, "If I am banished the world to come, I will enjoy this world," and plunged into licentiousness. R. Meir made many attempts to reclaim him, all of which were frustrated by direct supernatural interferences. On one occasion, for instance, seeking for a human Bath Kol, he persuaded Acher to come to twelve schools with him in succession, and ask the boys a text. At the first school, the first boy who was asked, said, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked" (Isa. xlviii. 22). The accidental replies of the boys were equally unfavourable at every school, until at the last a boy recited, "But unto the wicked, saith God, Why dost thou declare my law?" (Psa. l. 16). This boy happened to be a stammerer, and instead of "and to the wicked" (וְלַרְשָׁעִים), Acher thought he mentioned his own name, "and to Elisha" (וְלֵאשִׁיָּהּ), and was so furious with him, that but for R. Meir, he would have cut the boy into twelve pieces, and sent one of them to each school.

When he died, it was decreed that he should neither be summoned to judgment (in consideration of his knowledge of the Law), nor be allowed to enter Para-

dise. But R. Meir expressed a wish that smoke might issue from Acher's grave, as a sign that he had been judged (which he thought would be better for him), and sent to hell. This accordingly happened, and R. Jochanan then said, "Who could snatch him from me, if I take him by the hand to lead him into Paradise?" Accordingly, when R. Jochanan died, the smoke disappeared from Acher's grave.

His fall was attributed to the study of heretical books, which were observed to fall from his lap after his lectures. The Jerusalem Talmud gives a somewhat different version of his death, and accounts for his heresy by his mother having, during her pregnancy, passed an idolatrous (Christian ?) place of worship, and eaten (the Lord's Supper ?) and been "infected by that heretic;" *i.e.*, having shewn leanings to the acknowledgment of Christ.¹

8. R. Meir with all his fame was not so "tall" as R. Akibha. There can be little doubt—as will be indicated by the sequel of the cryptograph which has suggested this paper—that all or nearly all of these Rabbis are selected for mention *from their known hostility to Christians*, and from the ability with which they argued against them. In R. Akibha we have the very coryphæus of the polemical activity of the Jews against the new religion. He was the glory of the School of Jabneh, to which city (Jamnia) the Sanhedrin was removed on the fall of Jerusalem; but his

¹ This differs from, but is much more accurate than the "weird story" told by M. Deutsch in his celebrated but most delusive article (*Remains*, p. 15). I borrow it from Mr. Hershon's Commentary on Genesis, *drawn exclusively from Talmudic writers*, which it is hoped may shortly appear in an English form, and which ought to receive due support from all who wish to know what the Talmud really is.

humble birth prevented his elevation to the presidency of the School. His intense hatred of the true Messiah is shewn by his eager support of the truly preposterous claim of the impostor Bar Chocba. Numbers of the anecdotes respecting him point to the one desire and object of his life, which was as far as possible to consolidate Judaism, and to interpret the Law in such a way as to make its meaning most opposed to the teachings of Christianity. Thus, when a question arose as to whether it was lawful to destroy the books of the Mins, seeing that they frequently contained the name of God, he decided unhesitatingly that they ought to be destroyed; because in preparing "the ordeal of jealousy," to test an unfaithful wife, the name of the Lord written in "the book of curses" was to be blotted out by the bitter water.¹ "How much more ought it to be done in the case of those heretics who sow hatred between the congregation of Israel and their Father in heaven!" I have already alluded, in a previous paper, to the scrupulosity about ablutions which made him ready to endure the agony of thirst, rather than forego the traditional Halachôth on the subject; and there can be little doubt that his persistence was rendered more obstinate by the determination to discountenance the teaching of our Lord.² Even his last word was an intended protest against the doctrine of the Trinity. He was led forth to execution at the time when every faithful Israelite was bidden to offer up the *Shema*—the liturgical form, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." His flesh was torn to pieces with pincers by the executioners, but he still merely continued to repeat, "The

¹ Num. v. 23.² Matt. xv. 20.

Lord is ONE." His constancy made them suppose that he was protected by sorcery, but he said to them that he had always explained the duty of "loving God with all the soul" to mean loving Him even at the cost of life itself; and he had often wondered whether he should ever have the courage to do this. He was now proving that he had this courage, and he died with the words, "the Lord is one," upon his lips, lengthening out to the last gasp the word *echâd*, one. A thousand maxims are attributed to him: he is regarded as a second Ezra, a second Moses, and was said to be one of the four who "entered Paradise" in innocence.¹ They applied to him the text, "Draw me, we will run after thee;"² and said that when the ministering angels wanted to prevent his immediate entrance into bliss without undergoing judgment, "the Holy One, blessed be He! exclaimed, Leave that aged man alone, for he is worthy to enjoy my glory."

9. Yet even Akibha stood but up to the shoulders of R. Tarphon. Why this particular Rabbi is endowed with such an exalted pre-eminence, is not clear. He is supposed to be the same person as the R. Tryphon who is the Jewish interlocutor in Justin Martyr's "Apology." This would alone mark him out as a conspicuous opponent of the Church of Christ. His antagonism is further shewn by his agreement with R. Akibha in the decision about the lawfulness of burning the Gospels, in spite of their containing the name of God. "May I lose my son," he exclaimed, "if I do not fling these books into the fire whenever they come into my hand, sacred name and all." To him also is attributed the sentiment that it would be better to die

¹ Chagiga, 14, 2; 15, 1, 2.

² Cant. i. 4.

of the bite of a serpent than to fly from it into a temple of the Mins. Lastly, there is one of his sayings, which, as is by no means unfrequently the case with those of the Rabbis, seems to be a direct imitation of, or parody on, a passage of the Gospels. He complains of his generation that if one said to a neighbour, "Take the mote out of your eye," he replies, "Take the beam out of your own."¹ It will be observed that he uses the proverb in an unfavourable sense, as though indignant with some Christian who had made this very reply to him on being reprov'd for some fault. R. Tarphon presided at Lydda and Jabneh, where he sat under the shadow of a dovecot, and perhaps in a vineyard, since about this time *Kerem* ("vineyard") is a name applied to the gatherings of Rabbinic scholars.²

10. We come, lastly, to Abba Saul, who for the purposes of the story is represented as greater than all these leaders and teachers of the Rabbinic Schools of Palestine and Babylonia. He is best known as the author of that strong denunciation of the Sadducean families who, at the time of our Lord, monopolized the High-Priesthood, which throws so lurid a light on the degradation of that office. "Woe to the Boëthusim; woe to their bludgeons! Woe to the family of Hanan (Annas);³ woe to their viper hissings! Woe to the family of Kanthera; woe to their (libellous) pens! Woe to the family of Ishmael ben Phabi; woe to their fists! They are themselves High Priests, their sons

¹ Erachim, 15, 6; Derenbourg, p. 379.

² Friedman connects the word with *Keram*, in the sense of "gather together." It is usually explained by the sort of orderly quincuncial array in which the scholars sat.

³ I have pointed out, in my "Life of Christ," the important bearing of this passage on the events which led to his arrest and condemnation.

are Treasurers, their sons-in-law Captains of the Temple, and their servants beat the people with their staves!" When we read these charges of nepotism, greed, and violence, we are not surprised at the treatment which Christ and his apostles experienced at the hands of these worldly conspirators.

11. What, then, is meant by Abba Saul being occupied in burying the dead, and sinking up to the nose in the eye-socket of a dead body?

"To eat of the sacrifices of the dead"¹ means to take part in idolatry; "to bury the dead" is to refute some system of heathen philosophy or worship.

"The eye" of this system is its very central life and power. To sink up to the nose in anything is almost to be suffocated. "Accordingly Abba Saul meant that in trying to master some philosophical system of the Gentiles, he had unawares felt himself so dangerously entangled as to be scarcely able to breathe: but that when at last he succeeded in freeing himself, . . . they told him that this system was the spirit of Absalom's life."² "There can be no doubt," continues the Jewish author from whom I have just quoted, "that the legend covered by the name of Absalom is that of *the Nazarene*." The cryptograph, therefore, has this meaning: A very eminent Rabbi—a Rabbi so eminent as to surpass, in the opinion of some writers, even such glories of the law as Rabbi, and Rabb, and R. Meir, and R. Akibha—admits that he found among the Gentiles a remarkable orbit of an eye, *i. e.*, a deep system of philosophy; and that when, with great difficulty, he succeeded in extricating himself from it, they told him that it was the outline of Christianity.

¹ Psa. cvi. 28.

² *Talmudische Studien*, R. Joshua ben Hanania, p. 4.

As this will be, for the present, the last of my papers on this subject, I will make one or two remarks.

1. This explanation of so apparently absurd a story will shew us the devices to which the Talmudic writers were driven to resort in order to convey their thoughts without subjecting themselves to dangerous persecution. When, therefore, we find anything unusually absurd in the Talmud, before contemptuously dismissing it as a mere grotesque legend, we should try to see if it involves any esoteric argument against Christian belief.

2. We find a remarkable confirmation of the Gospel narrative in the fact that, in the three first centuries, even enemies so deadly as Abba Saul, and Legalists so eminent as Acher, were barely able to resist the evidence in its favour.

3. We see in this and similar narratives a very decisive proof that the leading Rabbis of the Talmud were perfectly familiar with Christian writings. Since, therefore, the Mishna was not thrown into form till fully two centuries after the death of Christ, no possible importance can be attached to the asserted independence and originality of those moral truths in the Talmud which are ostentatiously contrasted with passages in the Gospels. Not in one single instance can any sentiment be adduced from the Talmud which is in the least degree equal in force or in insight to the utterances with which they are compared. They are always inferior, often distorted and perverted. But, at the best, is there the very slightest evidence to shew that they were not directly or indirectly plagiarized from the pages of Christian books, or the lips of Christian teachers? Do not the facts alluded to in this

paper alone shew how easy it was for the Rabbis to rekindle their poor and smouldering torches at the fiery fount of Christian inspiration, and how certain it is that they availed themselves of the opportunity? Of all the attempts to dim the moral splendour of the Christian revelation, none appear to me so intrinsically weak and worthless as those which would elevate any or all of these Rabbis into moral rivalry with Christ. Had He been in the remotest degree on a par with Hillel, or Rabbi, or Akibha, or Chija, or Meir, Christ could not have been Christ at all, and his title to the adoration and allegiance of the human race would have shrivelled up to nothing. The very best of all their sayings, even when directly borrowed from his teachings, would scarcely have been worthy of his lips; and there is many a folio page of their vain, frivolous, and sometimes even obscene, wranglings, which it is impossible that He could have uttered at all without ceasing to be what He was, and without descending, not only to the low level of merely human wisdom, but even into the deep abysses of human folly and ineptitude. The Rabbis might have addressed their rejected Messiah in the same spirit in which Satan addresses the sun.

O thou, that with surpassing glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy sole dominion, like the god
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams!

F. W. FARRAR.

STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

I.—THE HISTORICAL CONDITIONS.

WHAT does our religion owe to Jesus, and what to Judæa and the Jews? Is it the ripe fruit of his spirit, or the fair and final blossom of dying Judaism? Was He its legitimate, though outcast and hated, Son? Was He made by his circumstances, the child of a land and people prodigal of choicest gifts and propitious opportunities? Was He but a Voice, throwing into memorable and immortal speech the truths given Him by the fathers of his people and the schools of his faith? These are questions history and historical criticism alone can exhaustively discuss, but at the first blush only one answer seems possible. Circumstances may be plausibly thought to make a man where they are equal to his making, where he does not conspicuously transcend all they are and contain. But where he does, it were as absurd to make the circumstances create the man as to make the night create the day, because after the dark comes the light. Jesus was born in Judæa and nursed in Judaism, but He rose out of them as the sun rises out of the grey dawn to pour his beams over heaven and earth and flood them with the glories of light and colour. Jesus was the antithesis and contradiction of the conditions amid which He grew. By his coming they were changed, and in all their distinctive features annihilated. What He brought with Him was so much more than they contained, that passing from Judaism to Jesus is like passing from the hill top tipped with the cold but beautiful dawn to a plain lying warm and radiant under

the unveiling and revealing light of the summer noon-day.

But while the historical conditions do not explain Jesus, without them He cannot be either explained or understood. The mysterious force we call his person was clothed in natural forms. The conditions under which He lived were human conditions. He was open and sensitive to every influence, inherited, traditional, social, physical, intellectual, moral, religious, that can affect man. He was a son, a brother, and a friend. He was a Jew by birth, speech, and education, and the Spirit, the *Geist*, of his land and people and time worked on and in Him with its plastic hands. Where He was divinely set there He must be humbly studied, and only as He is so studied can it be seen how He resembles "the bright consummate flower" which crowns the months of culture and of growth, and yet, when it bursts into blossom, beauty, and fragrance, is so unlike the dark earth, hard seed, and green stem out of which it has grown.

The question as to the causes and conditions which contributed to form its founder is one of the deepest moment to every religion. It helps to determine its claims, the degree in which it has been a discoverer or revealer of new truths, a creator of fresh moral forces for humanity, a minister to the happiness and progress of man. It helps, too, to determine our estimate of its creative personality, to shew him as a maker or an adapter, as one who depraved by his touch or transfigured by his spirit what he found before and around him, becoming to after ages the embodiment of the most deteriorative or the most regenerative influences. Thus the question as to the century in which Buddha

was born, and the circumstances amid which he lived, powerfully affect our criticism both of the man and his religion. It affects our interpretation of its most characteristic doctrines, our judgment as to its relation to the Sankhya philosophy, to Brahmanism, and to the political movements of India ; and these, again, influence our estimate of a religion that is at once so rich in ethical spirit and so poor in intellectual content. Buddha, regarded as a man who simply translates metaphysical into religious doctrines, and precipitates a political by converting it into a religious revolution, is a less original and beautiful character than the Buddha who so pities man and so hates his sorrow as to find for him by suffering and sacrifice the way to everlasting rest, the path to the blessed *Nirvana*. And so, too, with Islam and its founder. If Mohammed be compared with his heathen contemporaries and their ancestors, and his system with theirs, he can only profit by the comparison, stand out as a pre-eminent religious genius and benefactor of his country and kind. But if his doctrines be traced to their sources, Judaic, Magian, Christian, if it be found that he depraved what he appropriated, that he practised what his own precepts forbade, and so became personally a greater influence for evil than his law was a means of good—then we may allow him to be a political, but not a religious, genius. Knowledge of the historical conditions may thus so modify as to change from favourable to adverse our judgment of the historical person.

Now what were the historical conditions under which Jesus was formed? Are they in themselves sufficient to explain Him? Did they embody intellectual and spiritual forces potent enough to form Him, and,

through Him, his religion? Was He, as we have been assured, a pupil of the Rabbis and a child of the native Judaic culture? Was He indeed "called out of Egypt," a Son of its later wisdom, educated in Alexandria, illumined by the light that lived in Aristobulus and Philo? Or was He by the accident of birth a Jew, by the essential qualities as by the nurture of his spirit a Greek, gifted with the serene soul and open sense of ancient Hellas, softening by his Hellenic nature and culture the stern and exalted truths of Hebraism? It is impossible to discuss here and now the many points involved in these questions: all that is possible is to indicate the historical conditions amid which He lived, his relation to them, and theirs to Him.

I. THE LAND. Modern historical thought sufficiently recognizes the influence of a country and climate upon a people, upon the collective nation and its constituent units. Physical conditions have both a moral and an intellectual worth. The great people and the great man are held to owe much to nature without as to nature within. And the land is here of singular significance. It was small but goodly, rich in the fruits of the earth, fair, fragrant, and fertile as the garden of the Lord. It was a land of hills and valleys, lakes and water-courses, mountains that guarded, streams that made glad its cities, especially queenly Zion, beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth. Shut in before by the sea, behind by the desert, girt and guarded to the north by the royal ranges of Lebanon, to the south by waste lands, its fruitful plains, full of corn and wine, seemed to the wandering sons of the desert to flow with milk and honey. To

tribes weary of change and migration in the wilderness Canaan was by pre-eminence the land of rest. And so many distinct yet related families had striven for a foothold and a home in it, for room on its plains and a right to its cities. The sons of fathers who had parted as kinsmen in the desert met as foemen on the plains, as invaders and invaded, as Hebrews and Phœnicians. On the coast once famous cities stood, the cities of the men who made the commerce of the ancient, and, through it, of the modern world—men full of resource and invention, builders, dyers, carvers of ivory, weavers of rich stuffs, discoverers of the secrets the stars can whisper to the seafaring, bearers of manifold impulses for good and ill to the cities and isles of Greece. On the one side lay Egypt, on the other Assyria ; over and through the land that intervened they had fought out their rivalries, and made their names, their armies, and their civilizations both familiar and fearful to the sons of Israel. It was thus a land full of many influences, historical and physical, small in size, but mighty in power. Greece is great for ever as the home of the Hellenes, the men so gifted with “the vision and the faculty divine” as to discover and reveal to the world the beautiful in nature and man. The city that rose beside the Tiber and swayed for centuries the sceptre of the world, has made the hills on which she sat throned famous for evermore. The queenly Nile and the rivers of Mesopotamia have been immortalized by the ancient empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. But to only one land was it given to bear and nurse two peoples, most dissimilar while akin, small in numbers but most potent in influence, the Phœnicians, who made for us the art of commerce and found for

us the pathway of the sea, and the Hebrews, the people of the Book, "to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the Shechinah, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen."

2. THE PEOPLE. Descent is a potent factor of character. The past can never disinherit the present; the present can never dispossess itself of qualities transmitted from the past. The great man cannot be understood apart from his people—must be approached through his country and kin. Jesus was a Jew, a son of Israel. Israel had not been a royal or imperial people, had no claim to stand among the empires of the world. Once, for a brief season, they had become a great power. Their history boasted but two splendid reigns, one famed for conquest, the other for wisdom; yet in each case the splendour was dashed with darkness. The great kings died, and the great kingdom perished, fell into two miserable monarchies, always rivals, often at war, threatened or held in fee by the great empires on either side. And the people were as destitute of genius as of political importance. They were not gifted with the faculty of making a language beautiful and musical for ever, of creating a literature that could command the world by its rich and exact science, sublime and profound philosophy, pure and exalted poetry. They were, too, not only without the genius for art, but possessed the spirit to which art is alien, an unholy and hateful thing. They had had as a people nothing cosmopolitan in their past, had never, like the Phœnicians, penetrated the world

with their inventions and commerce, like the Greeks, with their literature, like the Assyrians or Romans, with their arms; but they had lived a life that grew narrower and more exclusive every day, and had become among the nations not so much a nation as a sect.

Yet this people had had a glorious and singular past. They had been creators of a religion, of a new and peculiar conception of God and man, of society and the state. Two thousand years before our date a band of slaves had fled from Egypt and found freedom in the desert. There their leader had given them laws which were his, yet God's. They were organized into a nation, with God as their king, and settled in Canaan to realize a divine kingdom, an ideal state, instituted and ruled of God. In it everything was sacred, nothing profane. The common duties of life were subjects of divine commandment. The nation in its collective being was meant to be the vehicle and minister of the Divine Will. Worship was, while individual, national, the homage of the people to their invisible King. While the nation by its worship and through its priests spoke to God, God by his prophets spoke to the nation. They were, indeed, the voices of God, speakers for Him, revealing his truths, enforcing his will. But a recognized is not always an obeyed authority. Worship is easier than obedience. Men are ever readier to serve the priest than to obey the prophet, and sacerdotalism flourished in Israel while prophecy decayed and died. And so, while the prophets created a literature embodying an unrealized religion, the priests created a nation, a people devoted to the

worship they administered, the symbols and ceremonies they had instituted. Hebraism remained an ideal, a faith too sublimely spiritual and ethical for gross and sensuous men ; but Judaism became a reality, as was easily possible to a religion that translated the grand and severe idea of righteousness into the poor and simple notion of legal cleanness, and substituted the fanaticism of the symbol for the enthusiasm of humanity.

Two things need to be here noted. (1) The contradiction in the history of Israel between the political ideal and the reality. The ideal was the Theocracy. The state was the Church, God was the King, the polity was the religion. Our modern distinctions were unknown ; God penetrated everywhere and everything, and consecrated whatever He penetrated. The individual and the state were in all their modes of being and action meant to be religious. But to the realization of such an ideal, absolute freedom was necessary ; a tyranny, either native or foreign, could only be fatal to it. If the state was not allowed to develop according to its own nature, its institutions spontaneously crystallizing round its central belief, it could not fulfil the end given in its very idea. And Israel had but seldom enjoyed the freedom his ideal demanded. He had often been the vassal, had even been the captive, of great empires. His struggle for political existence acted injuriously on his religious ideal—made him feel that to maintain national being was to fulfil his religious mission. And the patriotism evoked by the first narrowed to a miserable particularism the generous universalism that lived in the second. Israel believed that the states which were the enemies of his political being

were the enemies of his religious mission, and so he hated his conquerors with the double hatred of the vanquished patriot and the disappointed zealot. If the alien refused to spare his freedom, he could refuse to distribute his light. The circumstances that did not allow him to realize his political ideal prevented him from fulfilling his religious mission.

(2) The contradiction in the life of Israel between the religious ideal and the reality. There were, as above indicated, two elements in the faith of Israel, a sacerdotal and spiritual, or a priestly and prophetic. The one was embodied in the legal ordinances and worship, the other expressed in the prophetic Scriptures. The prophets represent the religion of Jehovah, not as realized in Israel, but in its ideal truth and purity. The priests represent it not as it ought to have been, but as it actually was. It was possible to be most faithful to the sacerdotal, while most false to the spiritual, element. Where the priest was most blindly followed the prophet was most obstinately disobeyed. Prophecy, neglected, died, but the priesthood, respected and revered, grew. While all that remained of the prophets was a dead literature, the priests lived and multiplied, the soul of an active and comprehensive system. It has often been said that the Jews went into captivity polytheists and returned monotheists; that, before it, nothing could keep them back from idolatry, after it, nothing tempt them to it. But it entirely depends on the meaning of the terms whether the above statement be true. The Jews were as little monotheists, in the sense of the prophets, after as before the captivity. There is an idolatry of the symbol as well as of the image. The idol is a representation of God,

the symbol a representation of the truth; and where the representation becomes to the man as the thing represented, there is idolatry—reverence of the sign instead of the thing signified. And the Jews were idolaters of the symbol. Their sacerdotalism was deified. Means were made ends, legal more than ethical purity, mint, anise, and cumin, more than righteousness, mercy, and truth. Priestcraft and legalism proved as fatal to the realization of the religious ideal as bondage to the realization of the political.

And these contradictions between the ideal and the real had reached their sharpest point when Christ came. Freedom, the necessary condition of greatness, whether of deed or endeavour, was unknown. The land was ruled by hated aliens. In things outer and social, indeed, the people seemed prosperous. New and splendid cities like Cæsarea were rising, aping the magnificence in architecture and vice, in law and licence, of the famous and dreaded Capital in the West. In old cities like Jerusalem buildings were in process that eclipsed the greatest structures of ancient times, a temple splendid as Solomon's, monument of a man who mocked the faith it was meant to honour. While the people used the temple, they hated and feared its builder. For Herod was a double offence—a son of Edom, a hated child of hated Esau; and a vassal king, monarch of Judæa, but subject of Rome, one whose rule made the ruled slaves of a slave. On the religious side the people had been for centuries afflicted with barrenness. The Divine oracles were dumb, and in their place there had risen a forced and fantastic literature, visionary, turgid, that was to the prophetic what the spent echo, broken into confused and inarticulate

sound, is to the human voice, full of soft music and sweet reason. The people were in the seat of their strength smitten with weakness, and at their heart the grim and terrible forces of dissolution were at work.

But the state of the people will become more evident if we analyze and describe the two great parties of Christ's day, the Pharisees and Sadducees. Ascetic and communist societies like the Essenes stood too remote from the national life and influenced it too little to be here of much significance. Our knowledge of the two great historical and politico-religious parties is still most imperfect, though clearer than it once was. The parallel, suggested by Josephus, between the Pharisees and the Stoics, and the Sadducees and the Epicureans, was as incorrect as unjust. The popular notion, identifying the Pharisee with the formalist and the Sadducee with the sceptic, is no better. The two parties were at once political and religious, represented different ideas of the national polity, and different interpretations of the national faith. The Pharisees were a popular and democratic, but the Sadducees a conservative and aristocratic, party. The former represented a freer and more individual movement, but the latter a hereditary and sacerdotal tendency. The Pharisees constituted a school or society, where the condition of membership was intellectual; but the Sadducees constituted a party, where the condition of membership was descent. The former was an association of the likeminded, but the latter a cluster of priestly and governing families. Each had a different interpretation of the past, present, and future of Israel; and their conduct differed with their interpretation. When the creative period in Israel ceased, the interpretive

began. When the school of the prophets died, the school of the scribes was founded, and in the latter Pharisaism was born. With the idea of interpretation came the idea of authority. The men that had been despised while living were revered when dead; and the interpretation became as authoritative and sacred as the interpreted, the oral as the written law. The former at once explained, modified, and enlarged the latter. The school became a sort of permanent law-giver, augmenting the original germ by aggregation as opposed to growth or development. This process the Pharisees represented, but the Sadducees resisted. They stood by the old sacerdotalism, by the hereditary principle that secured sacerdotal functions and political authority to the old families. The prophecy their fathers had hated, they ignored. The later doctrines of angels and spirits, of resurrection and immortality, they denied. The oral law, the interpretations of the schools, they despised. And so they and the Pharisees stood in practical as in theoretical politics in antithetical relations. The Pharisee represented the patriotic view, developed Judaism, the theocratic belief in all its scholastic exaggeration and rigidity. But the Sadducees represented the standpoint of the politician, the creed of the ruling families, that know how calmly to accept the inevitable while preserving their prerogatives and privileges. Neither party was true to Hebraism, the universalism that lived in the prophets. Both were illustrations of how historical parties may be most false to history, to every great principle it expresses or contains. Judaism, as it then lived, was the antithesis and contradiction of Hebraism; the religion alike of Phari-

sees and Sadducees was the negation of the religion psalmists had sung and prophets preached.

Now, amid these and similar historical conditions Jesus lived. Could they make Him? Can they explain Him? It is a small thing to find among the sayings of Hillel or Shammai one curiously like a saying of Jesus. The great thing is the spirit of the men and the system. Common sayings can be claimed for neither Hillel nor Jesus, but what each can claim is his distinctive character and spirit. Hillel is a Jewish Rabbi, and could never have been a Universal Teacher; Jesus is a Universal Teacher, and could never have remained a mere Jewish Rabbi. But He could be the first only as He transcended the second, and his historical conditions, while equal to the making of a Rabbi, were not equal to the creation of a Universal Teacher. Contrast his day with ours. We are free, the children of a land where a man can speak the thing he will; but He was without freedom, the Son of a people enslaved and oppressed. We are educated, enlightened by the best thought of the past, the surest knowledge of the present; but his were an uneducated people, hardly knew the schoolmaster, and where they did, received from him instruction that stunted rather than developed. We live in a present that knows the past and is enriched with all its mental wealth—the treasures of India, from its earliest Vedic to its latest Puranic age—of China, of Egypt, of Persia, of Assyria—the classic riches of Greece and Rome—the wondrous stores accumulated by the Hebrews themselves and deposited in their Scriptures—all are ours, at our feet, in our heads, there to make the new wealth old

wealth never fails to create. But Jesus lived in a present closed to the past. The common home-born Jew knew the Gentile but to despise him; wisdom of Greece and Rome was to him but foolishness, best unknown; while the light that streamed from his own Scriptures could be seen only through the thick dark horn of rabbinical interpretation. We live in times when the world has grown wondrously wide and open to man; when nations beat in closest sympathy with each other; when the thoughts of one people swiftly become those of another; when commerce has so woven its fine network round the world that all its parts now feel connected and akin; but Jesus lived in a land which prided itself on its ignorance and hatred of the foreigner, where the thought of common brotherhood or kinship could only rise to be cast out and abhorred. In our day nature has been interpreted, the physical universe has become practically infinite in space and time, filling the soul with a sense of awe in its presence the earlier ages could not possibly have experienced; but in Christ's day and to his countrymen nature was but a simple thing, of small significance, with few mysteries. Ours is, indeed, a day that might well create a great man, a universal teacher, the founder of a new faith. Yet where is the person that thinks it possible for our historical conditions to create a Christ? Strauss did not think they could, for Christ was to him the supreme religious genius, unapproached, unapproachable, who must in his own order stand alone for all time. Renan does not think so, for to him Christ is a creator, the founder of the absolute religion, who did his work so well that it only remains to us to be his continuators. But if the creation of Christ transcends our historical

conditions, was it possible to his own? Or does He not stand out so much their superior as to be, while a Child of time, the Son of the Eternal, the only Begotten who has descended to earth from the bosom of the Father, that He might declare Him?

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

TESTAMENT OR COVENANT?

A NOTE ON HEBREWS ix. 15-22.

No English reader who has carefully followed the train of thought contained in Chapters viii. to x. of the Epistle to the Hebrews, can fail to have been perplexed by the sudden transition in the Authorized Version from the notion of a "covenant" to that of a "testament" in Chapter ix. 15-20. It has been said, indeed, that the transition is not so sudden as it seems, because the mention of an "inheritance," at the end of Verse 15, suggests the notion of a will or bequest. Accordingly those who take this view do not introduce the changed signification of the term *διαθήκη*, at the beginning of the fifteenth Verse, as our translators did, but at the beginning of the next Verse, returning to "covenant" again in Chapter x. 16. But the connection between an inheritance and a will, though familiar to a Greek or Roman mind, was by no means so familiar to the Hebrew mind. To the Christian Jews here addressed, the term *διαθήκη* would inevitably bear the usual meaning attached to it throughout the Septuagint Version as the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew word denoting a covenant (*Berith*), unless their attention was specially directed to the introduction of another and a

less familiar signification. The mere fact that such a sense might be inferred by implication from the mention of an inheritance (*κληρονομία*), would not be sufficient of itself to suggest it to them, without some plainer indication of a change in the usage. Moreover, this very notion of "the inheritance" of Canaan was constantly associated in the mind of a Jew with God's covenant made with his nation.¹

The section contained in Verses 15 to 22 of this Chapter can by no means be treated as parenthetical or supplementary. It is an essential portion of the writer's argument, and is connected with the preceding paragraph by the words "and for this cause" (*καὶ διὰ τούτο*) in Verse 15, and with the following paragraph by the conjunction "therefore" (*οὖν*), at the beginning of Verse 23. There is no break or dislocation in the chain of reasoning, if we retain the sense of "covenant" given to *διαθήκη* in other parts of the Epistle, such as immediately occurs, if we substitute for it the novel rendering "testament," either in Verse 15 or Verse 16.

In the preceding Chapter (viii. 8), the expression *καινή διαθήκη* is quoted from the prophecy of Jeremiah,² and is there rendered "a new covenant," but in the ninth verse of the fifteenth Chapter the very same phrase is translated "the new testament." Why, again, should Christ be called "the mediator of the new *testament*," in Chapter ix. 15, when we find Him called "the mediator of a better *covenant*" in the preceding Chapter? Is it not most natural, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, to infer that *καινή*

¹ See Deut. iv. 20, 23; 1 Chron. xvi. 15-18; Psa. cv. 8-11.

² The citation is from Jer. xxxviii. 31-34, LXX., with a few unimportant variations.

διαθήκη has precisely the same meaning in both Chapters, and that in both the author is alluding to the passage which he had already cited from the Septuagint?

The prominent idea pervading the whole of the section, beginning at Chapter viii. and ending at Chapter x. 18, is the analogy, and, in some respects, the contrast between the "old," or Mosaic "covenant," which was soon to be superseded (viii. 13), and the "new," or better "covenant," of which Christ was the Mediator (*μεσίτης*) and the Surety (*ἑγγυος*). The turning point, both of this analogy and this contrast, is the fact that both the covenants were inaugurated and ratified by death (*θανάτου γενομένου*), not ordinary natural death, but a sacrificial, expiatory, violent death, *accompanied with bloodshedding* as its essential feature. That such a death was denoted by the phrase, "by means of death," in Verse 15, is plain from the addition of the words *εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαθήκῃ παραβάσεων*, "that death having taken place for expiation of the offences committed under the first covenant." And yet, if we adopt the change from "covenant" to "testament" in Verse 16, the word *θάνατον* must there be taken to mean natural death in its ordinary sense, for it cannot be affirmed that a testament implies of necessity a violent death by bloodshedding of the testator. In interpreting this Epistle it must never be forgotten that the writer was a Jew writing to Jews, and must therefore be understood to refer to Jewish modes of thought and Jewish usages. When, therefore, he says that death and bloodshed were necessary to the validity of a covenant, he meant that they were necessary under the provisions of the law of sacrifice,

as known to the Hebrews whom he was addressing. In like manner, when he lays down the general principle that "without shedding of blood is no remission," we must obviously limit his meaning by supplying the words "by the law" (*κατὰ τὸν νόμον*), from the preceding clause.

If, then, we retain the usual rendering of *διαθήκη*, the passage may be thus translated :—"And for this reason (because of the superior *moral* efficacy of Christ's blood, as contrasted with the ceremonial efficacy of the legal sacrifices) He is the Mediator of a fresh covenant, that, death having taken place for expiation of the offences committed under the first covenant, they who have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance (as distinguished from the temporal inheritance attached to the old covenant). For where there is a covenant, the covenanter's death *must* (according to the Law) be borne (*i.e.*, by the victim which dies for him vicariously) ; for a covenant is ratified over dead bodies (of sacrificed animals), since it never is valid when the covenanter lives (*i.e.*, so long as his life is not forfeited, or acknowledged to be forfeited, for sin by the vicarious death of the victim offered for him). And hence the first covenant also was not inaugurated without *blood* (*i.e.*, sacrificial bloodshedding)." Now the fact here expressly affirmed, that no covenant with Jehovah was held valid under the old dispensation till it had been ratified with the bloodshedding of slain victims, was perfectly familiar to a Jew. It is plainly assumed in the following passage in the Book of Psalms (l. 5) :—"Gather my saints together unto me, *those that have made a covenant with me by sacrifice*"

(ἐπὶ θυσίαις, LXX. = ἐπὶ νεκροῖς in Heb. ix. 17).¹ Here it is implied that the Jewish people were called God's "saints," or his sacred people, as having made a covenant with Him, and accepted his covenant with them by offering sacrifices to Him. Thus it appears that the blood of vicariously slain victims was the divinely-appointed means of ratifying a covenant between God and his chosen people, and that without his death, thus vicariously and symbolically borne, the covenanter could not obtain expiation or remission of sin (Verse 22) as the preliminary condition of a valid covenant. As then under the Law the victim bore the death of the covenanter, so Christ, *our* sin-offering, vicariously bore death for those who made in Him a new and better covenant with God, ratified and made eternally valid for the remission of sins by the blood of Him "who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God."

Thus interpreted, this passage contains one of the clearest and most explicit statements in Holy Scripture of the true meaning of the law of sacrifice. It is much to be regretted, therefore, that its teaching should have been confused and obscured by the unfortunate and needless substitution of the word "testament"² for "covenant."

J. S. PURTON.

¹ See Psa. xlix. 5, LXX. *Συναγάγετε ἀντὶ τοῦς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ τοὺς διατιθέμενους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θυσίαις.* The phrase *διαθεσθαι διαθήκην* is commonly used of God making a covenant with man, but it is also used of man making a covenant with God, as in the above passage.

² The Vulgate is so far consistent that it adheres to "testamentum" throughout the Epistle to the Hebrews. A return to the older Latin equivalent, "*foedus*," is rendered still more difficult than it would be otherwise, by the fact that the terms Old and New Testament are now completely established in popular usage as names for the two divisions of the Holy Scriptures.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE SPEAKER'S COMMENTARY. Vol. VI. *Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets*. (London : John Murray.) It is not easy to write a "brief notice" of a volume which contains expositions by ten different authors on no less than fourteen Scriptures. And though I have kept the volume by me for the last three months, dipping into it whenever I could, testing every man's work, so far as work can be tested by merely tasting it, and carefully examining its treatment of a few critical passages, I cannot affect to have an adequate, and still less a familiar and intimate, acquaintance with it. Yet, lest I should seem wanting in courtesy to the editor, authors, and publisher, I must not any longer defer my "notice" of it. A certain lack of breadth and freedom is as obvious in this as in the previous volumes of the Commentary; but as it arises from the very method and aim of the work, it calls for no censure, since every book should be judged by its professed aim, and its method by its correspondence with that aim. Judged from this point of view, no one, I think, can fail to find much to approve, much that is really valuable in this volume. It presents everywhere the signs of wide reading and honest toil. It is a repertory of orthodox interpretations; and while it leans—a little too much for some tastes—to accepted and established views, it conveys them in a modernized form, and endeavours to reconcile them, often with considerable success, with the discoveries of modern research and with the difficulties and objections started by modern criticism. Of course, in the work of so many scholars great differences of quality may be found. I myself have been most struck with Dr. Currey's on Ezekiel, and Prebendary Huxtable's on Hosea and Jonah; but the main lines of thought, the principles and leading conclusions, and even a certain tone of thought, are wonderfully well maintained throughout, so well as to give a noticeable unity to the whole Commentary which is very striking in the combined labours of so many different hands. Any writer who means to reckon with the orthodox school of the Anglican Church, to familiarize himself with their real mode of handling Holy Writ, must of necessity acquaint himself with this "explanatory and critical Commentary." Students of every school will find much in it which they will value and respect.

STUDIES IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND HISTORY. *By Professor A. M. Fairbairn.* (London: William Mullan and Son.) Although this volume has not been sent me for review, I do myself the pleasure, and my readers, if perchance they have not seen it, the service, of calling their attention to it. It contains essays on the Idea of God, Theism and Scientific Speculation, the Belief in Immortality, and the Place of the Indo-European and Semitic Races in History. About one half the volume, and by no means the more valuable half, has appeared in the pages of the "Contemporary Review." In their new and completer form these essays constitute the most valuable contribution to modern apologetic literature I have met for many a day. Mr. Wace, in his charming book, "Christianity and Morality," has very sufficiently disposed of the slight, sentimental, and literary scepticism of the school led by Mr. Matthew Arnold and Mr. Greg; but in these "Studies" Professor Fairbairn shows himself capable of dealing, no less sufficiently, with the far profounder scepticism, the reasoned unbelief, of the scientific and philosophical schools represented by Schelling, Hegel, Haeckel, Comte, Herbert Spencer, and John Stuart Mill. For varied learning and erudition, and keen disciplined thought, combined with an enlightened and devout faith, it would not be easy to produce his match. And if he should live to accomplish the great work for which even these remarkable essays are but "studies," I cannot but think it will prove a real and valuable addition to the literature of the age.

THE BOOK OF RUTH, A POPULAR EXPOSITION (price two shillings), *by Samuel Cox* (Religious Tract Society), is, for the most part, a reprint from the pages of this Magazine (Volume II.). But certain obvious errors in it are here corrected; and two appendices are added, one on "Christ as the true *Menuchah* of the world," and the other on "Christ as the true *God* of men." In its new and completer shape this small commentary has already had a considerable sale; and my only reason for mentioning it at this late day is that, as certain friendly readers of THE EXPOSITOR have written to ask when they might hope to get it in the form of a book, and therefore were evidently unaware that it had appeared in that form some time ago, it is possible that others may be glad to know where, and on what terms, they may obtain it.

EXPOSITORY ESSAYS AND DISCOURSES, *by Samuel Cox* (Hodder and Stoughton), is also in large measure a reprint, since it contains

most of the articles which have appeared in this Magazine over the name *Carpus*. This volume is the third of a series of which "An Expositor's Note-book" was the first, and "Biblical Expositions" the second volume; and contains, besides the *Carpus* papers, about a dozen others which have not appeared in THE EXPOSITOR. It would not become *me* to add more than the final sentence of the preface, which explains the choice of my occasional *nom de plume*. "Carpus of Troas, the friend and host of St. Paul, may or may not have read and pondered the manuscripts which the Apostle left in his charge; but I have always conceived of him as a man of literary tastes and aptitudes, as one of the obscure students and teachers of the Word in apostolic times; and it is this conception of him which has led me now and then to borrow his name."

Messrs Williams and Norgate are publishing a translation, by *J. Frederick Smith*, of EWALD'S great COMMENTARY ON THE PROPHETS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, of which I have received Volumes I. and II. It is too late in the day either to praise or to criticize Ewald's work—always at its best when he is dealing with the poetical books of Scripture. Whatever his defects—and, no doubt, he had "the defects of his qualities," and a few over—he takes the first place among the critics and commentators of Germany as easily and undeniably as Canon Lightfoot takes it among English expositors. All that remains to be said is, therefore, that the publishers of this translation are conferring an immense boon on students to whom Ewald is not accessible in his mother-tongue, and that the translator has done his work with the most painstaking care. On one point, however, I think his reverence for Ewald is excessive—that reverence of the mere letter and symbol which is the root of idolatry. If in an English book we must have *Yahvé* for *Jehovah*, I really do not see that anything is gained by substituting at every turn *Yôél*, *Zakharya*, *Yesaya*, *Obadya*, *Mikha*, &c., for the more familiar name-forms by which the Hebrew prophets are known among us.

S. COX.

*THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN PALESTINE AT
THE TIME OF OUR LORD.*

LET me preface the few remarks I have to offer upon Dr. Roberts's recent series of papers in *THE EXPOSITOR*, by saying that I have no wish to obtain a merely controversial victory. The subject is worthy of being discussed for its own sake, and as a question of scholarship or history should be, *sine ira et studio*. There seem to me to be some serious gaps and defects in Dr. Roberts's train of reasoning. But if these can be removed—if the case can be made good to the satisfaction of competent judges—I think I can engage not to hold the ground a moment after it becomes untenable. To one who has the truth of things really at heart, there is no disgrace in such defeat. He does not profess to know all about the matter in hand, but certain objections occur to him, and he states them. If they are satisfactorily answered, he makes his bow and walks away. The fact remains upon a firmer basis than before.

And, first, to define somewhat more nearly the point at issue. The difference between the two opposing views is not really so very great. There is no question that the Jews of our Lord's time were practically bilingual. The only question would be as to the proportion in which the two languages were spoken. Dr. Roberts maintains that Greek was spoken more and

Aramaic less, and that our Lord Himself habitually spoke Greek and occasionally Aramaic. I should only wish to invert the qualifying expressions in this statement, and to say that Aramaic was spoken more and Greek less, and that our Lord used Aramaic habitually and Greek only occasionally.

No fairly well-read scholar would deny that Greek was largely spoken in Palestine at the time of our Lord. Greek was the language of universal intercommunication, just as, and even more than, Latin was in the Middle Ages. Many nations owned it as a second tongue. There are several causes which made it specially prevalent in Palestine. One main cause would be commerce. The Jews were, then as now, and at home as well as abroad, a very active commercial people. In Galilee especially, which was then densely populated and much better cultivated than it is at present, a thriving trade was driven in corn and oil with Phœnicia and Syria. This trade brought wealth, and wealth brought luxury, and luxury again encouraged trade: imports naturally balanced exports. Thus arose a large commercial class, who in their dealings with the foreigner would naturally speak Greek. Another cause, equally important, would be the constant intercourse with foreign Jews, occasioned by their coming up to attend the great religious feasts. To such an extent was this carried that, at the last Passover before the outbreak of the war, the number of people in Jerusalem is said to have reached the almost incredible total of three millions. Many of these would not be able to speak Aramaic. Hence both in Jerusalem itself, and in the main roads which led to it, especially from the west, Greek would be spoken. There were also permanent synagogues in Jerusalem for the use of these foreign

Jews, and very probably at Cæsarea and elsewhere. A third cause would be the direct influence of the dynasty of the Herods, who were especially addicted to Greek manners and customs. Foreigners themselves, they all courted the favour of Rome, and shewed but slight sympathy for Judaism. Herod Agrippa I. was the only exception to this. His short career (A.D. 41-44) was enough to win for him the enthusiastic regard of the people as the one truly patriot king. Herod Agrippa II. tried, but not quite successfully, to combine the two things. To the house of Herod was due the construction of wholly Greek towns such as Cæsarea, Stratonis, and Tiberias. The court and surroundings of Herod the Great and Archelaus at Jerusalem, and of Herod-Antipas in Galilee, would be centres of Hellenizing influences. Something must also be allowed for the influence of heathen colonies like Decapolis. The scattered cities that formed this confederation were founded by the Romans on their conquest of Syria in B.C. 65. No exact particulars have come down to us as to the language spoken by them. Isolated from each other as they were, and exposed to the influences of the neighbouring populations, we should naturally expect them to be bilingual, only in different proportions from the Jews. Many of the first inhabitants would probably be Syrians, who spoke a dialect of Aramaic very similar to that of Palestine. They would be therefore quite as likely to adopt Aramaic as Greek.¹ We must add, lastly, the in-

¹ Dr. Roberts lays too much stress upon the use of the words "Ἕλλην, Ἕλληνις. These must not be pressed as at all necessarily implying the use of the Greek language. The phrase 'Ιουδαῖοι τε καὶ Ἕλληνες is constantly used in the New Testament as an exhaustive division of mankind. The word "Ἕλλην is frequently (and not in substance wrongly) translated in our Version by "Gentile:" e.g., John

fluence of a few individuals like Gamaliel and Josephus, wiser and more liberal than the rest of their countrymen, who made a special study of the Greek learning.

But in spite of all these Hellenizing influences, the great kernel of the nation remained true to its traditions. Jewish life was made up of violent contrasts. If there was one current setting strongly in the direction of Hellenizing, there was another setting just as strongly in the opposite direction. The fury which burst out in the great rebellion against Rome had long been secretly gathering. The frequent insurrections shewed that the old Maccabæan spirit was still not extinct. The mass of the nation hated all that was Greek. Along with some expressions of toleration are others which breathe the fiercest spirit of intolerance. "The later fanatical Rabbis, both before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in the death-struggle against Rome under Hadrian, excluded the friends of the foreign literature from eternal life; they laid the same curse upon those who educated their sons in the wisdom of the Greeks (*chochmat jewanit*) as upon the possessors of swine; while others, who were milder, permitted the reading of Homer as the reading of a [private] 'letter.'¹ But the stricter Rabbis merely expressed the national spirit. Not only Origen, but Josephus also—notwithstanding his coquetting with the foreigner—bear witness to the instinctive repugnance of the nation."²

vii. 35 ("The dispersed among the Gentiles"); Rom. iii. 9 ("Both Jews and Gentiles"); 1 Cor. x. 32 ("Neither to Jews nor Gentiles"), &c.

¹ *Tr. Sanhedr.* (R. Akibha): "Nec eum participem esse vitæ æternæ, qui libros alienigenarum legit. Execrabilis esto, qui alit porcos, execrabilis item qui docet filium suum sapientiam Græcam." Dr. Keim also refers to Gfrörer, *Jahrh. Heils.* p. 115; Herzfeld, iii. pp. 254 *et seq.*; Jost, iii. 99. For the English reader we may add Farrar's "Life of Christ," vol. i. p. 91, and *Excursus*, iv.

² Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, i. 228 (E.T.).

This seems to me, I confess, a much truer picture of the real spirit of Judaism than that which is presented to us by Dr. Roberts. It is difficult to see how even a party in the nation can have uttered execrations on those who brought up their sons in the Greek learning when Greek was the habitual language of *all* the rest of their countrymen. I know that Dr. Roberts (in his larger work) repeatedly asserts that these expressions of violent antagonism belong only to the time of the war (or, I suppose, the two wars) with the Romans. But the whole tenour of Jewish history is decidedly against this. The Jewish character did not change backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock. The hatred of the foreigner and of things foreign was not begotten in a day. The line of Jewish history is marked by a constant succession of risings and struggles, in which national, religious, and social elements were combined, all the way from the death of Herod to the final destruction of the Jewish nationality under Hadrian.

History, however, bears but a secondary place with Dr. Roberts. The evidence for his views is chiefly literary. What that evidence is it now remains for us to see.

And here, in pursuance of the principles laid down at the outset, I propose first to put on one side a number of arguments that, trying to weigh them with candour, I cannot regard as decisive. All *a priori* arguments I willingly give up—with just the proviso that arguments drawn from the historical background cannot strictly be called *a priori*. I know that it has been usual to lay stress upon the Aramaic phrases—*Ephphatha*, *Talitha cumi*, &c. — occurring in the Gospels. These seem to me to be quite as compat-

ible with one hypothesis as with the other. They may represent an exceptional use of Aramaic, or they may represent an habitual use of it. No one can positively say which. Again, I do not wish to contest the possibility that the Syrophœnician woman may have spoken Greek. I think it more probable that she did not, but that may pass. No very great argument can be drawn either way from the inscription on the cross, because it does not mark the proportions in which the different languages were spoken. Dr. Roberts has given an ingenious explanation of the surprise of the Roman officer at finding that St. Paul could speak Greek (Acts xxi. 37), which is probably the right one. The surprise may have had its ground in the fact that the officer supposed him to be a certain obscure Egyptian. Dr. Roberts also seems to me to be suggesting a truth, though not the whole truth, when he makes the address of St. Paul to the Jews in Aramaic (Acts xxi. 40) an act of policy intended to remove the prejudice against him as a Greek.

All these concessions I am prepared to make to Dr. Roberts. But, on the other hand, I am afraid he will think me rather exacting when I claim to be allowed to put aside as equally indecisive a great number of arguments of his own. Indeed, I can hardly regard any of the arguments that are derived from the New Testament as really very pertinent. Those, for instance, which are drawn from the Epistle to the Hebrews, seem to me to be singularly inconclusive. In the first place, it is very uncertain that it was written to Palestinian Jews at all. The points urged by Dr. Roberts in support of this amount to the barest probability, and are obviously quite insufficient to build

a further argument upon. Besides, in the case of a letter there are two persons or sets of persons to be considered—not only those to whom it is addressed, but also the person by whom it is written. Now, supposing the author to have been a thoroughly Hellenized Jew, like Apollos or St. Luke, why should he not write in Greek? On any hypothesis, quite enough of his readers would understand that language to make the letter worth writing. If a non-resident landlord wished to make some communication to a parish in Wales, he would write to the vicar or to his agent in English. But if the person of the writer may be taken to account for the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of the readers accounts for 1 Peter and the Epistle of St. James. Both these are written expressly to the Jews of the Dispersion, and the only language that most of these would understand would be Greek. St. James, by his position at Jerusalem, would naturally be brought much in contact with these Hellenized Jews, and would so acquire a more correct Greek style. Or, apart from this, there was nothing to hinder any individual from learning Greek with a greater or less degree of correctness. St. Peter, it is rather probable, did not write his Epistle for himself. A very old tradition, dating back from the early part of the second century, and repeated frequently in that century, says that he took Mark for his dragoman or interpreter (*ἐρμηνευτής*). St. Paul, we know, wrote little with his own hand. Not a few of the peculiarities of style in the apostolic writings are probably to be accounted for by the extent to which they made use of amanuenses. A greater amount of latitude was allowed to the scribe sometimes than at others. The Revelation

of St. John is a good example of the kind of Greek that would naturally be written by a native of Palestine. It abounds in solecisms that would jar upon a Greek ear. The Gospel represents the same style, refined by fifteen or twenty years of contact with a Greek-speaking people.

Nor can I attach any real conclusiveness to the arguments derived from the Gospels. All the main points can be explained quite easily on the other hypothesis. One is almost surprised to see an argument like that from the presence of people from Decapolis among the audience of the Sermon on the Mount seriously put forward. Dr. Roberts admits that Aramaic was the vernacular tongue of Palestine.¹ The cities of Decapolis were not collected together in a single district, but were scattered over a considerable extent of country. Surrounded, therefore, by the vernacular, they could not fail to be influenced by it. They must have been also more or less bilingual. But supposing the audience to have consisted partly of persons who understood Aramaic well and Greek only imperfectly (as many, if not most, of the Galilean villagers must have done), and partly of people who understood Greek well and Aramaic only imperfectly (as some of the Decapolitans may have done), why should the first class have been sacrificed to the second, any more than the second to the first? But I see that Dr. Roberts admits the hypothesis,² which is now held by a majority of critics, that the so-called Sermon on the Mount may not really have been delivered upon a single occasion. But if so, how shall we really deter-

¹ THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vi. p. 376.

² Ibid. vol. vi. p. 164. "Sermon (or, if you will, sermons)."

mine in what way the different parts of it were brought home to the hearers?

Again, Dr. Roberts lays much stress upon the fact that the quotations in the Gospels are, for the most part, taken from the Septuagint. But this can only be done by arguing from a series of assumptions, none of which have any certainty. Dr. Roberts is doubtless aware that the quotations from the Old Testament in the Gospels are thought almost universally by critics at the present day to be due, in their form at least, to the Evangelists. I know that he himself holds a peculiar view on that point, and that he has indeed peculiar views as to the composition of the Synoptic Gospels generally. I am quite ready to admit the great difficulty of the problem which these Gospels present, and I doubt very much whether it has received as yet the final solution. But I am afraid the theory put forward by Dr. Roberts will not bear detailed examination. It would take us too far from our present subject to enter into this here, but I will undertake to give the proof of what is said, in case it should be required. In the mean time it is not easy to see why the ordinary theory does not explain the facts as well as Dr. Roberts's. Two, certainly, of the Synoptic Gospels—the second and third—were written, the one by a Gentile, the other by an Hellenist, for Gentile or Hellenistic readers. It is therefore only natural that the Septuagint should be made use of in them. A third Evangelist, St. Matthew, wrote for Jewish Christians, and here we have the remarkable fact that the quotations from the Old Testament which are peculiar to this Evangelist shew a recurrence to the Hebrew text, while those which are common to him with the other Synoptists retain

their Septuagint colouring.¹ This would seem to shew, precisely what we should have expected, a Hebraizing tendency in the author. In the parts peculiar to himself he goes back to the Hebrew, in those which he has in common with the rest he keeps to the same Hellenized tradition, or draws from the same document. Thus, at the only point where we should have any reason to expect a study of the Hebrew, we find it.

The reason why the Gospels that have come down to us are all in Greek is, that at the time when the Gospels were composed, the immense majority of Christians were either of Gentile or Hellenistic extraction. In hardly any part of the world did Christianity make so little way as among the native Jews. Even in Jerusalem itself, and but a very few years after our Lord's ascension, we already find that foreign Greek-speaking Jews formed an important part of the Church, so much so that a special order had to be appointed to see that justice was done them in the administration of alms. And yet the first Gospel of which we have any record was in Aramaic. No matter what the relation of this Aramaic Gospel to our present St. Matthew, there certainly *was* such a Gospel, and it was doubtless for a time the Gospel of the Aramaic-speaking Christians. Even the heretical branches of that body had Aramaic Gospels of their own. But, practically speaking, the great war broke up the Church of Judæa. From that time onwards the Palestinian section of the Aramaic Church sank into insignificance, while Christianity passed over from the Jews to the Hellenists and the Gentiles.

¹ See Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, p. 259; Westcott, "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," p. 211, &c.

So much having been said with a view to clear the ground of what I cannot but think irrelevant matter, we may come now to the positive side of the evidence. This, I venture to think, may really be compressed within small limits. There are two passages of Josephus which seem to me to decide the whole question; but before I come to them, I should be glad to make a few remarks on some other portions of the subject.

To take, first, the New Testament. There are several passages which Dr. Roberts thinks do not tell against his opinion, which, however, seem to me to be much more consistent with the view to which he is opposed. The Aramaic language is expressly mentioned more than once in the historical books. In one instance there is an allusion to the particular dialect spoken in Galilee. We are told in Matthew xxvi. 73, Mark xiv. 70, that St. Peter was discovered to be a Galilean by his dialect; and in exact accordance with this we learn from the Talmud that the Galileans were taunted by the Jews with their faults of pronunciation. They could not properly distinguish between the gutturals, and pronounced the *sh* with a lisp, and so on.¹ Here, we should have thought, was very fairly conclusive evidence upon the whole case. It seems to prove that Aramaic was the language *commonly* spoken—the vernacular tongue both in Galilee and Judæa. If Greek was spoken, therefore, it must have been as the exception, and not as the rule. Dr. Roberts, however, does not seem to admit this. He says, “Granting that” St. Peter spoke Aramaic on this occasion, “it proves nothing against the proposition which I have endeavoured to establish. It is, on the contrary, in

¹ See Meyer, *ad loc.*

closest accordance with the view which has been here exhibited of the relation subsisting between the two languages. It was exactly in such circumstances as those referred to that we should expect the vulgar tongue of the country to be employed; and it is surely nothing strange that the dialect of it which Peter was accustomed at times to speak in Galilee should now be stated to have been found somewhat different from that generally prevalent in Jerusalem."¹ Dr. Roberts just saves himself by inserting the words "at times." If he had said, "which Peter spoke habitually in Galilee," that would be all for which I should contend. But—I must needs ask the question—*Is* "the vernacular language," "the vulgar tongue" of a country (as Dr. Roberts himself calls Aramaic in Palestine), spoken only *at times*? Is not the *vernacular* language of a country *the* language? Was the language of England, after the Norman Conquest, French or English? Is the language of Wales, at the present day, English or Welsh? To come exactly to the point at issue, can we suppose that our Lord Himself habitually used any other language than the vernacular? If the field of his ministry had not been Palestine, but Wales, or the highlands of Scotland, as they are now, would He have habitually spoken English?

Again, we read in Acts i. 19, that the death of Judas "became known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is (rather 'was') called in their proper tongue (τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν) Aceldama, that is to say, The field of blood." The word "Aceldama" is Aramaic. We therefore naturally argue that Aramaic was "the proper tongue" of Jerusalem: again, all for

¹ THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vi. pp. 366, 367.

which I should contend. Dr. Roberts has not (I think) noticed this passage in his papers in *THE EXPOSITOR*. He has, however, in his larger work.¹ He there explains it by saying that the words belong to the speech of St. Peter, and are not an added note or comment by St. Luke. He goes so far, indeed, as to argue that St. Peter himself is speaking Greek, because he introduces the Aramaic word as belonging to a tongue distinct from that in which he is speaking. All turns upon the point whether the words are really those of St. Peter. In form I do not deny that they are—in fact they can hardly be. Dr. Roberts must be aware that it is frequently the custom of the New Testament writers to mingle their own comments with the discourses they are recording, without any clear mark of distinction. This is especially the case in the Gospel of St. John. And so here, though the words in point of form are attributed to St. Peter, in substance they must really belong to the historian. The disciples could not need to be told of a fact which was already known to all Jerusalem, and which had happened only a few days before to a former member of their own body. Nor is it likely that such a fact could really have become known to all Jerusalem in so short a time, or that the Apostle could allude to the name given to the field as a past historical fact (*κληθήναι*, aor., “was called”). Common-sense considerations like these must be taken account of in exegesis, especially with writers so little bound by the laws of formal literary composition as the Evangelists. The undistinguished mixture of narrative and comment is simply a crudeness of style.²

¹ “Discussions on the Gospels,” Second edition, p. 305.

² So the “majority of commentators,” according to Dr. Hackett in his very sound and judicious Commentary on the Acts. Dr. Roberts, while quoting Alford

I have already said that Dr. Roberts's explanation of St. Paul's address to the Jews in Aramaic (Acts xxi. 40), and their consequent attention, seems to me to be a part of the truth. They did expect to be addressed in Greek, and it was therefore an act of policy in the Apostle to speak to them in their native Aramaic, and so shew that he was not a foreigner or a teacher of foreign doctrines. But their very repugnance to foreign doctrines extended also to foreign speech. We shall see this proved from other sources, but it might naturally be inferred from the present passage. The increased attention of the Jews was probably due at once to their satisfaction at hearing the Apostle speak in their own tongue, and also to the greater intelligibility of what was said. Still, as this cannot be proved for certain, I shall not press it against Dr. Roberts.

Of Talmud and Targums I shall say little, for two reasons; first, because I am no Rabbinical scholar myself, and should be obliged to collect all I had to say at second-hand; and, secondly, because I know (from the larger work¹) that Dr. Roberts attaches only a slight weight to these sources. Yet I cannot but think that this is a mistaken estimate, and I doubt whether we shall ever have a satisfactory scientific statement of the case until the references in the Talmud have been more thoroughly examined and sifted, and the antiquity and antecedents of the Targums more fully ascertained. What is needed, in fact, is an examination of the whole Jewish literature, beginning with the fragments of Aramaic embedded in the canonical Books of Daniel and

in support of his view, forgets to notice that both Alford and Meyer (whom Alford closely follows) regard the two phrases, *τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν* and *τοὺς ἑσθὺν χωρίων αἰματός*, as *inserted into the speech* ("zwei eingewobene Erläuterungen:" Meyer) by St. Luke.

¹ "Discussions on the Gospels," p. 297.

Ezra, extending over the whole of the Apocrypha (and many of these books, though now preserved only in Greek, appear to have had undoubtedly Hebrew, *i.e.*, Aramaic, originals¹), and ending with the final elaboration of the Jerusalem Talmud and the committing to writing of the Jerusalem Targum. If this were done, and all the allusions, direct and indirect, were carefully collected, it would be more possible than it is at present to trace the history of western Aramaic speech and its real relations to the Greek. It seems on the face of it highly improbable that there should be a great breach of continuity in this history. It would be very strange if at the beginning of the period parts of the Scriptures themselves should have been written in Aramaic, and at the end of the period the Aramaic paraphrases of Scripture, long orally transmitted, were fixed in writing, while in the middle of the same period the Books of the Old Testament were habitually read in another and foreign tongue. It would be especially strange if the interval in which this is said to have been the case was (as we know that it was) a time of passionate national aspirations and excited patriotic feeling. But indeed I suspect that, apart from probabilities, there is considerable evidence, direct or indirect, that this was not the case.² The Targum of the Book of Job is

¹ The Book of Ecclesiasticus is expressly stated in the prologue to have been translated from the Hebrew. The same statement is made in regard to the Book of Jubilees, by St. Jerome. The best scholars assign a similar origin to the Books of Judith ("procul dubio," Fritzsche), 1 Maccabees ("constat," Fritzsche), Psalms of Solomon ("satis certum," Fritzsche). The reason why these books have come down to us in a Greek form is because they have been transmitted through Christian or Hellenistic channels. The Jewish nationality was practically destroyed in the two great rebellions and in the persecutions by the Christian successors of Constantine.

² Let me commend to Dr. Roberts more especially Deutsch's "Literary Remains," p. 328, from which it appears that the Mishnah, which itself dates from

known to have been written before the destruction of the Temple. A writer like Credner, examining the quotations from the Old Testament with a care and thoroughness of which it would be well if there were more in some of our English scholars, finds in several of them such marked coincidences with the text of the Targums as prove to his satisfaction the use of a Targum by the Evangelist. Thus in Matthew xii. 18 the Evangelist, like the Targum of Isaiah xlii. 1, has *θήσω* where the LXX. have *ἔδωκα*, and both the Evangelist and the Targum give to the passage a Messianic application. Similarly, in the application of Jeremiah xxxi. 15, Credner thinks that a Targum has been used. In the quotation of Micah v. 2 he traces to this source the insertion of *οὐδαμῶς* (*οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη* for *ὀλιγοστός*) and also the insertion of *ἡγούμενος*—two very marked peculiarities. Credner sums up his researches on this section of quotations thus: "In several places the materials still at our command are sufficient to prove the intervention of a Targum, so that we are justified in coming to the conclusion that, wherever a connection with the Hebrew appears, this has not been caused by a direct recourse to the original, but has been brought about through the medium of a Targum."¹ I merely quote this as the opinion of a scholar unsurpassed in this particular department, and not because I am in a position to check it myself. The coincidences, however, are striking.

But though, as I believe, the more accurate determination of the relation of Greek to Aramaic belongs specially to the Hebraist, the erroneousness of Dr. about A.D. 200, contains repeated references not only to oral but to written Targums, and these, it is known, came into use very gradually.

¹ See Credner, *Beiträge*, ii. 144-55.

Roberts's theory must, I think, be clear even to the ordinary scholar. There are two passages of Josephus with which it comes into direct and immediate collision. The first seems to have escaped most of the Germans who have dealt with the subject, but did not escape the learned Harmonist Greswell. Speaking of the facilities which he had enjoyed for obtaining a true account of the Jewish war, Josephus says: "Vespasian also, and Titus, had me kept under a guard, and forced me to attend them continually. At the first I was put into bonds, but was set at liberty afterwards, and sent to accompany Titus, when he came from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem; during which time there was nothing done which escaped my knowledge, for what happened in the Roman camp I saw and wrote down carefully, and the reports brought by deserters *I alone understood* (μόνος αὐτοῖς συνίην)." ¹ I imagine that there can be no real doubt as to the meaning of συνίην. The deserters who were brought in to head-quarters spoke Aramaic, hence no one there understood them but Josephus, and we may infer that he was employed to interpret their reports to Titus and his council. No doubt there may be some exaggeration in this. Josephus was not the man to diminish his own self-importance, and Dr. Roberts is probably right in saying that there were in the Roman camp many besides himself who understood Aramaic. He seems to mean, however, not so much in the Roman camp as in the immediate *entourage* of Titus. Titus would be glad to make use of him (Josephus), because he combined with a knowledge of the language both general intelligence and a special knowledge of his

¹ *Contra Apionem*, I, 9.

countrymen. But even if the exaggeration were greater than it is, it is surely a very hasty logic to argue, as Dr. Roberts does,¹ that because the statement proves too much, it really proves nothing at all. The inference seems to me absolutely unavoidable that the Jewish deserters *did* as a rule speak Aramaic, and not Greek, just as he himself spoke Aramaic and not Greek when he addressed his besieged countrymen.

The other passage is the very well-known one at the end of the "Antiquities," which should be given entire, in order that the full force of it may be appreciated. "I am so bold as to say, now that I have completed the task set before me, that no other person, either Jew or Greek, with whatever good intentions, would have been able to set forth this history to the Greeks as accurately as I have done. For I am acknowledged by my countrymen to excel them far in our national learning. I also did my best to obtain a knowledge of Greek by practising myself in the grammar, though native habit prevented me from attaining accuracy in its use.² For it is not our custom to honour those who learn the languages of many nations, and adorn their discourse with smoothly-turned phrases; because this is considered a common accomplishment, not only to any ordinary free man (*ἐλευθέρων τοῖς τυχοῦσι*), but also to such servants as care to acquire it;

¹ "Discussions on the Gospels," p. 291.

² τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκριβείαν πάτριος ἐκάλυψε συνήθεια. "Use" seems to be the nearest English word for προφορά, though it is not a very satisfactory rendering. The word covers both oral and written "production," in the one case "pronunciation," in the other case "style." πάτριος συνήθεια is referred by Dr. Roberts (*Disc.* p. 288, &c.) to the habit of speaking Greek, and not Hebrew. It is, however, hardly necessary to point out that Josephus is apologizing for the incorrectness of his Greek, on the ground that the Jews did not encourage the study of foreign tongues, of which Greek is obviously the one more especially in his mind.

while those only are 'accounted wise who are well versed in our law, and are skilled in interpreting the meaning of our sacred books. It has thus happened that though many have taken pains to obtain this learning, only two or three have succeeded, and they were not long in being rewarded for their trouble.'¹ The statements of this passage are remarkably definite. A knowledge of Greek was common enough among the middle and lower classes (*i.e.*, the classes that would naturally be engaged in traffic, either with Hellenistic Jews or with foreigners): among the upper classes (except, we should probably have to say, the Herodian court and party) it was rare, and few spoke it correctly; but the idea that Greek was the current language of the country, is contradicted in every line.

I should be quite content to rest the case on these two passages. They are both direct, precise, clear, and positive. And they seem to me to tally exactly with the view put forward in these pages, while they alone would be sufficient to overthrow the paradox maintained by Dr. Roberts. I have selected these two passages as a simple, plain, and compact way of stating the case, and I think I might safely challenge Dr. Roberts to produce anything at all comparable to them on the other side. At the same time I believe the conclusion to which they lead to be in the strictest accordance with the rest of the evidence both literary and historical. So far as I can see at present, Dr. Roberts appears to have been misled by a few obvious difficulties to which the history of the time affords an easy solution.

W. SANDAY.

¹ *Antiq.* xx. 11, 2.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

IV.—THE SECOND COLLOQUY. (CHAPTERS XV.—XXI.)

2.—JOB TO ELIPHAZ (CHAPS. XVI., XVII.).

WHEN we first glance at Job's reply to Eliphaz we may think him as sad, as indignant, as passionate as ever : for he still confronts the Friends with a sarcasm at least as keen as their own ; he still regards the calamities which have beaten him to the dust with loathing and resentment ; and he still charges God both with having inflicted these calamities upon him, and with having inflicted them unjustly. But if we look at his reply more closely we shall see that a radical change has passed upon him, that he is now groping his way through darkness toward the light,—disengaging himself from the inopportune and irritating platitudes which the Friends still cram into his ear against the stomach of his sense, and rising to the amazing discovery that, behind the God whom he had hitherto worshipped, there was a God whom as yet he had not known, and that therefore there might be a light for him even in the darkness of death itself, and hope even in and beyond the grave. Because this hope has dawned upon him, and rises steadily on the broadening horizon of his thoughts, changing with its ethereal touch the whole pose and attitude of his spirit, his tone grows more calm and collected. The polemic fire dies out of him. He no longer deigns to answer the ill-grounded and inappropriate arguments which his Friends press upon him, but treats them with an irony through which there runs a strain of large-minded good humour and good sense. Incensed against them as he is, he admits that,

from their point of view, what they say is true enough, and that in their place he might have said to them what they are saying to him (Chap. xvi. 1-6). Nor, though he still keenly resents their ungrounded assumption of his guilt, does he deny, he admits that they are right in attributing his misery to the hand of God, and even proceeds to give a terrible description of the misery and shame heaped upon him by that unjust, and yet most just and kindly Hand (Verses 7-17). For he is beginning to learn that

in the reproof of Chance
Lies the true proof of men ;

that God permits men to breast the strokes of Accident and the blows of Circumstance, that He compels them to engage in a great fight of Affliction, in order that they may get the victory over their bosom sins, their baser selves, and carry off as spoil a treasure that will enrich them for ever. He is beginning to learn that in the wind and tempest of Misfortune's frowns,

Distinction, with a broad and powerful fan,
Puffing at all, winnows the light away,
And what hath mass or matter, by itself
Lies rich in virtue and unmingled.

Nay, more ; he is beginning to learn that he has to deal with *two* Gods,—the imaginary God of the current theology, who afflicts him because He hates him, and the real and only true God, who loves him while He afflicts him ; the God who is witnessing to him in heaven even while He strives with him on earth, the God who stands surety for him with Himself and will yet vindicate him against Himself. To this God he turns, appealing from the injustice of men, appealing

even against the apparent injustice of God Himself, assured that God *will* justify him, if not in this life, then in some life to come, a life which he must pass through death to inherit (Chap. xvi. 18—xvii. 16). In fine, he converts his very despair into the food of hope, and is in love with death, since, if not before, yet in death itself, in the dim Hadean kingdom from which no traveller has returned, he is sure that God will shew him a path of life.

CHAPTERS XVI. AND XVII.

CHAP. XVI.—1. *Then answered Job and said:*

2. *Many such things as these have I heard ;
 Miserable comforters are ye all !*
3. *Shall there be an end to windy words ?
 What goadeth thee, then, to answer thus ?*
4. *I too could speak as you
 Were your soul in my soul's stead ;
 I might string sentences against you,
 Or shake my head at you ;*
5. *I might strengthen you with my mouth,
 And soothe you with the comfort of my lips.*
6. *But now, though I speak, my grief is not assuaged ;
 And if I forbear, how am I eased ?*
7. *Truly, now, He hath worn me out.
 Thou hast made all my household desolate,
 And Thou hast shrivelled me up ;*
8. *My leanness hath become a witness and riseth up against me,
 It accuseth me to my face.*
9. *He who hateth me rendeth me with his wrath,
 He gnasheth his teeth at me ;
 My Foe sharpeneth his eyes against me.*
10. *They open their mouths against me,
 They smite me on the cheek reproachfully ;
 They conspire together against me.*
11. *God giveth me up to the ungodly,
 And flingeth me over into the hands of the wicked.*

12. *I was at ease, but he shattered me,
He seized me by the throat and shook me.*
13. *He set me up to be his butt ;
His archers beset me :
He cleaveth my side and spareth not,
He sheddeth my gall upon the ground ;*
14. *He breacheth me with breach on breach,
He rusheth on me like a man of war.*
15. *I have sewn sackcloth on my skin,
And have thrust my horn into the dust ;*
16. *My face is inflamed with weeping,
And mine eyelids darken under the shadow of death,*
17. *Although no violence is in my hands,
And my prayer is pure.*
18. *O Earth, cover not my blood,
And let there be no resting-place for my cry !*
19. *Yet even now, behold, my Witness is in heaven,
And He who testifieth to me on high !*
20. *My friends are my mockers ;
But mine eye poureth out streams unto God,*
21. *That He would right a man against Himself,
And a son of man against his fellow.*
22. *For a few years will soon pass,
And I shall travel the road by which is no return.*

CHAP. XVII.—I.

- My breath is spent !
My days are extinct !
For me the tomb !*
2. *Are there not mockers about me,
And doth not mine eye lodge on their provocations ?*
3. *Put down pledges now !
Be Thou Surety for me with Thyself :
Who else will strike hands for me ?*
4. *For Thou hast shut up their heart from understanding ;
Therefore Thou wilt not exalt them.*
5. *Whoso betrayeth his friend to the spoiler,
The eyes of his sons shall waste away.*
6. *He hath made me a byword to the people ;
I am become one in whose face they spit :*

7. *Mine eye is dim with grief,
And all my limbs are as a shadow.*
8. *At this the upright are astonished,
And the innocent bestirreth himself against the impious ;*
9. *But the righteous shall hold on his way,
And he that hath pure hands shall wax stronger and stronger.*
10. *Return, now, all of you, and come on,
For I find not a sage among you.*
11. *My days are past ;
And my purposes are broken off,
Even my most cherished thoughts !*
12. *Yet would they turn night into day,
And bring light into the very face of darkness !*
13. *If I hope, it is for Hades as my home,
And to make my bed in darkness.*
14. *I cry to corruption, " Thou art my father ! "
" My mother ! " and " My sister ! " to the worm.*
15. *Where now, therefore, is my hope ?
Yea, my hope,—who can see it ?*
16. *To the gates of Hades shall it go down,
And we shall rest together in the dust !*

Chapter xvi. Verse 2.—Job opens his reply with an allusion to the reproachful demand of Eliphaz in Chapter xv. 11: "Are the consolations of God too small for thee, and the words that we gently speak?" The consolations they brought him, and professed to bring from God, *were* too small for him, much too small. He had heard many such wise saws as Eliphaz and Bildad had cited, heard them till he was sick of them. If they could offer him no better consolations than these, they were but "miserable comforters;" they did but aggravate instead of lighten the trouble of his spirit.

In *Verse 3* he retorts on Eliphaz his own sarcasm

(comp. Chap. xv. 2, 3), charging him with employing the very "words of wind" for stooping to which he had himself just been rebuked. And, at the same time, he demands why Eliphaz could not at least comply with his request (Chap. xiii. 5), and be of those

That therefore only are reputed wise—
For saying nothing.

What had he done to provoke this incessant stream of ancient saws, all intended to point a modern instance?

Verses 4 and 5.—Nevertheless, with that large fair-mindedness on which I have remarked, Job admits, though still with some slight touches of sarcasm, that, in their place, he himself might have taken that very line of consolation which chafes him on the lips of his Friends. Had it been his part to condole with them, he might have strung antique "sentences" together—the original phrase implying a certain artifice and insincerity in the process; he might have shaken his head at them in grave astonishment, or mild reproof, or scornful contempt (comp. Psalm xxii. 7; and St. Mark xv. 29): he might even have strengthened them only *with his mouth*, and soothed them only *with his lips*,—affecting, *i.e.*, to stay them with words that came only from the mouth, not from the heart; speaking only, as Carlyle puts it, "from the teeth outward."

The finest commentary on this outburst of impatience under what is called "consolation," of resentment against the endeavour to preach down the heart with a hoard of musty maxims and time-honoured platitudes (as also the best illustration of a similar outburst in Chapter xiii. 2–5), is to be found in a passage in "Much Ado about Nothing," in which I

cannot but think Shakespeare had Job and the Friends of Job in his thoughts, for it includes every point that we have noted, and more. When Leonato, maddened with grief and indignation for the death and dishonour of his daughter, is warned by his brother that, if he go on thus, he will kill himself, and besought not "thus to second grief against himself," he replies :—

I pray thee, *cease thy counsel,*
Which falls into mine ear as profitless
As water in a sieve : *give me not counsel ;*
Nor let no comforter delight mine ear
But such an one whose wrongs do suit with mine.
Bring me a father that so loved his child,
Whose joy of her is overwhelm'd like mine,
And bid *him* speak of patience. . . .
If such an one will smile, and stroke his beard,
Bid sorrow wag. . . .
Patch grief with proverbs ; . . . bring him yet to me,
And I of him will gather patience.
But there is no such man : for, brother, *men*
Can counsel, and speak comfort to that grief
Which they themselves not feel ; but, tasting it,
Their counsel turns to passion, which before
Would give preceptial medicine to rage,
Fetter strong madness in a silken thread,
Charm ache with air, and agony with words :
No, no : 'tis all men's office to speak patience
To those that wring under the load of sorrow,
But no man's virtue nor sufficiency,
To be so moral when he shall endure
The like himself. Therefore give me no counsel :
My griefs cry louder than advertisement.

Verse 6.—"My griefs cry louder than advertisement" is the very thought in the mind of Job. So keen are they, so deeply have they cut into the very root and centre of his life, that he gains no relief by speaking of them ; no words can express a tithe of what he feels, or allay the emotion that swells within his heart and lifts it nearer Heaven. He craves to

speak with God, and not to listen to men. For, on the other hand, even silence, which is the best medicine for some griefs, in no whit diminishes the clinging and growing pain which is eating into his very soul. "*If I forbear, what goes from me ?*"

This, with the brief ironical challenge contained in the tenth Verse of the next Chapter, is all the reply Job vouchsafes to the elaborate argument of Eliphaz. When Bildad had appealed to the voice and authority of Antiquity, Job had met the appeal with wise distinctions and weighty disproofs—met it, it would seem, once for all. For he now declines to reopen that point, to continue moving round and round in the narrow circle which hemmed in the thoughts of his Friends. A new and larger thought, a thought pregnant with a strange and well-nigh incredible hope, has dawned upon him,—the thought that the true God lies far behind and beyond such poor conceptions of Him as he had hitherto been able to frame ; and the hope that, if God should prove to be so much higher and greater than he had thought, then God may be his Advocate after all and not his Adversary, his Friend and not his Enemy. Many Commentators have failed to see how this thought of hope pervades the whole reply of Job, in part because Job's expression of it is chequered by so many shadows of doubt, broken by so many outcries of what seems despair ; and in part because they do not realize that it is out of the depths of a divine despair that most of our truest presentiments, our most sustaining hopes, arise upon us. They forget that we cannot expect from a man in Job's miserable condition that he should wholly forget his misery because a new and hopeful conviction has begun to form itself in his

mind, and that he should state it as firmly and brightly as though he were at ease. And they forget how commonly hope is a recoil, a reaction, from despair. We have only to put ourselves in Job's place, to sound the depths of his despair, to consider how *we* should have expressed any great hope which relieved it, in order both to see how natural it was that, if he was not to sink into the abyss of utter disbelief, this hope should have come to him, and to understand his chequered and fitful exposition of it. If we bring this sympathetic spirit to the Verses which follow, we shall not be perplexed by the fluctuations of mood and tone betrayed in them; we shall feel that, through all these fluctuations, Job holds fast to his new and great hope.

Verses 7 and 8.—He begins sadly enough, dwelling on the poignant details of his loneliness and misery, ascribing them to the hand of God, and admitting that they lend some support to the imputation cast upon him by his Friends. He admits and complains,—God has worn me out, reft from me all that I most valued,

Sequestering from me all
That time, acquaintance, custom, and condition
Made tame and most familiar to my nature ;

and even the very health and vigour he needed in order to sustain a loss so ruinous and complete. Nay, more; the very evil which Eliphaz had represented to be the punishment proper and peculiar to the wicked (Chap. xv. 34) has fallen upon him,—*his household is left unto him desolate*; his kinsfolk and neighbours have abandoned him, and even his most intimate and trusted friends “lay” but “negligent and loose regards upon him;” so that, turn where he will, no eye pities him, no word of solace greets his ear. He is utterly isolated

and alone, shut up to himself. And, worse still, even he himself is turning traitor to himself; his diseased and emaciated body bears witness against him, confessing, as it were, that he is and must be a sinner, although his conscience acquits him of any wilful and deliberate sin :—

Nay, if I turn mine eyes upon myself,
I find myself a traitor with the rest.

And all this—his loneliness, the defection of kinsfolk and friends, the miserable self-contradictions in which he is involved—he owes to God: it is God who has done it all. So far from denying that his sorrows come from above, and bear witness against him, he insists on it; and the only question is whether, with himself, his friends, and God, against him, and only his good conscience on his side, he can still hold fast his integrity.

In *Verses 9–16* he gives a still more appalling description of the Divine enmity against him, and of its terrible and far-spreading results. The figure of *Verses 9–11* is that of some poor frail timid creature pursued by wild beasts, one of them powerful and dreadful beyond all telling, who is followed by a pack of inferior and ignoble attendants, to whom the prey, when caught, is contemptuously flung over. God Himself is the lion; and not the Friends only, who have shewn themselves the sycophants of God, but all who hated Job and derided him—of whom there were many (*Chap. xxx. 1–15*)—are the jackals in full cry behind Him; while Job is the victim to be run down and thrown to the yelping pack. *Verse 9* describes the terrible onset of the furious leader—his rending anger,

and gnashing teeth, and flaming eyes ; *Verse 10*, the pack, " the pell-mell rout of petty curs," that barked and howled behind him, with their gaping jaws, their shameless gestures, and the hungry hate which inspired and united them ; and *Verse 11*, God's scornful abandonment of the stunned and bleeding prey to his hungry train. There is an inevitable touch of bitterness and contempt in these Verses. It was impossible that Job should not be cut to the very quick as he saw the Friends he had trusted, and the clan of which he had been the honoured Chieftain, turn virulently against him.

What the declined is,
He shall as soon read in the eyes of others
As feel in his own fall.

Job had declined—fallen from the top of happy days to the very bottom of loss and misery ; but it gave a new and keener edge to his misery that he should read the evidence of his decline in the averted or scornful eyes of men on whom he had relied for sympathy and help.

In Verses 9–11, though God is the chief Foe, yet the description of the human pack at his heels is so graphic as to draw our attention from Him to them. But in *Verses 12–16* Job calls our thoughts away from men to God, his chief Antagonist, setting forth the Divine enmity against him in figures which successively indicate its unexpectedness, its violence, and its destructiveness.

In *Verse 12* he describes it under the figure of a man of gigantic thews and irresistible strength, who suddenly seizes on one who sits in unsuspecting ease, shakes him in his terrible hands, and dashes him on

the ground. In *Verse* 13 the figure changes, and the shattered victim of the previous *Verse* is set up as a target; the arrows of God hiss round him; they pierce his side, cleave the gall-bladder and its ducts, so that its contents flow out upon the ground,—this shedding of the gall not being, however, a fact of science, but an image in common use by the Arab poets. Again the figure changes in *Verse* 14, and Job compares himself to “some fair edifice,” or rather, perhaps, to some brave fort, which God has assailed and breached again and again, till it has tumbled in ruins to the ground. The suddenness, the fatal force and sweep, the planned and deliberate violence of that storm of change and calamity which had swept away all that Job held dear is graphically portrayed in these picturesque *Verses*.

And in *Verses* 15 and 16 he tells us, in plain sad prose for the most part, what the results of God’s unaccountable and inappeasable enmity against him had been, to what sordid and degrading conditions it has reduced him. He has put on the sackcloth of the mourner—mourning for himself, since none will mourn for or with him; nay, he has *sewn* sackcloth on to his skin, not simply assuming it as an ordinary badge of mourning, but clinging to these trappings and suits of woe, making them as it were part of his very self, because, like Hamlet, he has “that within which passeth show,” a settled and rooted melancholy, which the ordinary “forms, moods, and shapes of grief” cannot adequately denote.

His grief lies all within ;
 And these external manners of laments
 Are merely shadows to the unseen grief
 That swells with silence in the tortured soul :
There lies the substance.

And he has "fouled his horn in the dust;" *i.e.*, his once high and honoured head has been brought low with shame: his face is "inflamed" with the hot ferment of his grief and indignation; and the very "shadow of death darkens on his eyelids."

All things and all persons are against him then,—his household, his clan, his very slaves and dependants, his God, and, in part, himself. Can he, can any man, stand against these, and against the evidence of guilt with which this universal antagonism is fraught? Will he, in the face of all these, still maintain his integrity? Yes, of even *this* he is capable; and it sends a thrill of pride to one's very heart to see that any human soul can rise to so heroic a strain. "All this has come upon me, and come upon me by the will of God," he says in *Verse 17*; "but still I stand to it that I have not deserved it, that there has been no violence in my hands, and that my worship has been sincere." He claims for himself what the prophet Isaiah (Chap. liii. 9) claims for the suffering Messiah, that he is being driven down to death, *although he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth*. In the great and weighty line of our greatest poet, he still asserts,

Mine honour keeps the weather of my fate.

Let his "fate" be never so disastrous, he will not, that he may escape it, sacrifice his "honour;" he will maintain his integrity to the last.

But this is Job's familiar attitude and contention. Where is the *new* tone, the new thought, the new hope? It breaks upon us in *Verses 18–22*; and the overmastering grief occasioned by his loss and shame, by the aversion of God and man, are the pangs of

which it is born. For one who conceives himself abandoned both by God and man, if he is not to sink into a bottomless despair, if any remnant of faith and courage be left him, *must* struggle upward to a Love and a Justice higher than he has hitherto known : that is to say, he must reach up to a God other and higher than he has yet conceived. It is God who is the author of all Job's woes,—God who has taken from him all that He once gave, stripped him of health and wealth, alienated even his closest friends from him, stretched him on the *mezbele*, put him under a ban, made him the mark of a thousand scornful and sarcastic eyes, with none so poor to do him reverence, none so pitiful to do him kindness. Whither can Job turn from *Him*? If he is to turn anywhere, he can only turn from the hostile God whom he knows only too well, to the loving God whose ways are so large and wise as to be inscrutable to him. In plain words, there is nothing for him but to turn from the imaginary to the real God, from the God of the current theology to the God of the conscience and the heart. The philosophers, as Schlottman here reminds us, used to say, *Nemo contra Deum, nisi Deus ipse* ; and Job feels that he has reached an extremity in which *he must enlist God against God*. To Him, therefore, he now and henceforth makes his appeal.

Verse 18.—This appeal begins even in the sublime invocation,

O Earth, cover not my blood,
And let there be no resting-place for my cry !

with which we may compare the challenge of Queen Constance,

Arm, arm, you heavens, against these perjured kings !

The invocation is based on the ancient traditional belief that the earth refuses to drink in the blood of the innocent, that it lies like a ghastly stain on its breast, for ever crying for vengeance. But *to whom* does the blood of the innocent cry out, *if not to God?* It is God, therefore, whom Job invokes even when he appeals to the earth. And yet it is God who has hunted him down, who is shedding his blood! It is *to God against God*, therefore, that Job appeals. With the strange boldness born of blended faith and despair, he believes that God will avenge the very blood which God Himself has shed! He may seem to be a Foe who thirsts for his destruction; but, nevertheless, He must be a Friend who will save and vindicate him; who, somehow, at some time, will confess, and even cause men to confess, that the blood of Job, like that of Abel, is that of an innocent and righteous man.

This amazing thought of a twofold God, or, rather, this convulsive clutching at the real God who is so unlike all that Job had conceived Him to be, is developed in the Verses which follow.

Hitherto the thought of his unrecognized and un-availing innocence had driven Job well-nigh frantic; at this point he had always heretofore lost his self-command, and broken out into wild and barren reproaches against the Judge who was handling him so unjustly. But now it leads him to divine that, behind the God whose face is clouded with anger, there must be a God whose aspect is bright and propitious; that he need not appeal to men against God, but may press straight on to God Himself; that he need not tax himself to look forward to some day far distant in the future in which his integrity will be acknowledged, since even

now, as he lies stripped and abandoned on the earth, God recognizes his innocence and is testifying to it on high. This is the thought, the hope, which gives so profound an interest to *Verse 19*. And this thought—so strange, so welcome, to Job—was, as we know, accurately true, although it was but a piercing prevision of faith. God *was* witnessing to him on high, calling on the heavenly host, and even on the Slanderer and Accuser who appeared among the sons of God, to confess that “there was none like him on the earth, a perfect man and an upright, one that feareth God and escheweth evil.”

This, I repeat, was the new wonderful thought which rose like a star on Job's horizon—the thought of a just God and a Saviour, who is often concealed from men by the God whom they receive by tradition or infer from nature and from human life ; a God who knows the innocence of the just even now already, and will one day make it manifest, though He appears *not* to know it for the present, and for the present does not vindicate it. So clear and true is it to him even already, that in *Verse 20*, instead of appealing as heretofore from God to men, he appeals from men to the God he has just discovered. *They* mock him with false assumptions of guilt, false interpretations of the Divine rule and providence, with invitations to begin a true life by making a false confession of uncommitted sins, and with false menaces of an anger God does not feel, of a judgment which He will never execute. And, therefore, he turns from *them* to *Him*, and appeals to Him with streaming tears, which testify at once to his misery and to his sincerity.

And *for what* does he appeal? The verse which

answers that question—*Verse 21*—is one of the boldest words in Scripture. For what Job demands and entreats is, first and chiefly, that God will justify him, Job, against God Himself; and, secondly and subordinately, that God will justify him against the suspicions and misconstructions of his fellows. The sublime audacity of faith can no further go. That a man in conditions so utterly sordid and miserable, so thick with incentives to despair—abandoned, put to the ban, derided alike by Heaven and earth—should still trust in God at all, is a wonder that might well make us proud of the nature we share with him; but that he should so conceive of God, and should so invincibly trust in Him, as to believe that, in his justice, God will listen and respond to an appeal *against* his justice, is a wonder “past all expressing,” a wonder which alone explains how God should be so proud of a good man as to challenge for him the admiration of all the host of heaven.

With the unconscious art of profound emotion Job proceeds, in *Verse 22*, to wring from his very misery a plea why God should not long delay his vindication of him. Frail by nature, exhausted by his long agony, he must soon pass the bourn from which no traveller returns; and because the time is short, he presses for despatch.

Chapter xvii. Verse 1.—This plea is elaborated, it is rendered still more impressive and pathetic, in the three sighs which compose this Verse. And in *Verse 2* it is strengthened and reinforced by a new plea. Forgetting that

We may not think the justness of each act
Such and no other than event doth form it,

the Friends have judged him solely by the events and issues of his course, squaring their guess with the mere shows of his life. And their pertinacious assumption of his guilt is a perpetual provocation to him, a constant and growing temptation to distrust and despair. His life is at the last gasp, the tomb is gaping for him, and yet they mock him with the hope of a long and honourable life, if he will but repent a sin he has never committed! They fret and irritate his spirit by asserting that he *has* committed it. He cannot simply glance at their provocations and pass on his way; his eye is compelled to "lodge" or "dwell" upon them: for are they not for ever repeating them? Will not God make haste to deliver him, then,—all the more haste because of this standing temptation, this galling addition to his misery?

In *Verse* 3, as he broods over this sickening addition to a misery already insupportable, his new thought, his new hope, flashes out once more, though now in a new form. He is assured, as he has already told us, that God is his Witness, that God acknowledges his innocence and will one day vindicate it. But that day seems far off; his life meantime is hastening to a close; the Friends chafe him with their iterated suspicions of his guilt, and are even ready to triumph over him. Will not God, then, vouchsafe him some immediate and visible *pledge* of that future vindication? The Judge who chastens and afflicts him has already become his Witness: will not the Witness also become his Surety, and "strike hands" for him?—to strike hands being an ancient and customary mode of giving bail, of becoming surety for one who was contracting a loan or was suspected of a crime. It is for this

open and instant pledge of his ultimate acquittal that he now importunes the Almighty.

And from *Verse 4* we learn he is persuaded that even *this* will be granted him. He is sure that, since his Friends are so lacking in understanding as to condemn him for guilty when He can summon God Himself to attest his innocence, and even to see in that appeal only a new evidence of his guilt, God will not exalt them, will not give them the triumph they anticipate, by proving them to be in the right, or even by long allowing them to think themselves in the right.

Verse 5.—Nor will God only foil them of their expected triumph; He will also punish them, if not in their own persons, yet in the persons of their children, for expecting and desiring it. Unjust to the affection they owe their Friend, they shall be wounded through their affections. They have shewn him no mercy, treating him like mere spoil and booty; and therefore God, who to the unmerciful shews Himself unmerciful, will surely requite them for their sin.

Verse 6.—Not to them alone, but to all who think with them, *i.e.*, to his whole generation, God has made him a proverb and an object of contempt. And, *Verse 7*, under this contempt, and the judgment which caused it, he has wasted to a mere shadow. There is, therefore, the more need why God should interpose, and interpose promptly. For, *Verse 8*, by the spectacle which he presents moral distinctions were becoming confused, the unrighteous were growing bold and insolent in their opposition to Heaven, and the good, astonished at the contempt showered on a man so good, were burning with indignation against those who oppressed him. And he is assured that God *will* inter-

pose, interpose *soon*, with some guarantee of his favour, though He may still postpone that complete vindication of Job's integrity which shall abash the wicked. For in the righteous and purehanded of *Verse 9*, though he does not exclude others, he refers principally to himself. *They*, no doubt, will be strengthened and assured; but it is mainly *he* who is to hold on his way, and to wax stronger and stronger.

And thus two wonderful summits of light and clearness are conquered by the afflicted Patriarch. He has learned to believe in God, and he has learned to believe in himself as the child of God. He has learned to trust in the absolute justness of the ways of God with men, although those ways are often obscure and threatening; and he has also learned to trust that somehow, though he knows not how, and at some time, though he knows not when, God will justify him; that even to him good will be the final goal of ill.

Verse 10.—As the Friends are now full in the thought of Job, it is not unnatural, perhaps, that he should break out into this brief cartel of defiance. It may be that it is prompted even by the conviction he has just grasped of his ultimate and assured triumph over them. He challenges them afresh, challenges them contemptuously, because, knowing what the issue of the conflict must be, he no longer fears what they can do, or say, against him.

But this challenge is a digression. The main argument is resumed in *Verses 11–16*, verses which seem to breathe an atmosphere of despair as deadly as any we have thus far encountered. And yet, for all so sad as they sound, we utterly misconstrue them if we take sadness to be their fundamental tone. They really in-

dicatē the stirrings and flutterings, if not the advance, of Job's new hope. He has persuaded himself that even now already God recognizes his innocence, and that some day He will vindicate it. He has also persuaded himself that God is about to give him some manifest pledge of his favour, and that right early. And now he longs to define and fix his hope; not to leave it floating unattached through the broad spaces of time, but to determine its orbit, and the moment at which it will sail into sight. Some day, some where, some how, God will appear for him! Yes, but how, and where, and when? *Will the moment of death be the moment of vindication, and Sheol its scene?* Is the grave the gate and avenue by which he must pass to life and immortal honour?

These, I take it, are the thoughts which Job is now striving to express. But whatever the construction we put on these Verses, we must at least recognize in them a strain of faith amazingly noble and high. For if they mean no more, they can mean no less than this: that, even if no deliverance, and no sign of deliverance, should come to him in life, he will carry his hope with him down into the darkness of death, finding not a path only, but *a home*, in Hades; and for the brief space which yet remains to him before he goes down to the gates of Hades he will be content with the assurance that God already knows his innocence and will hereafter prove it.

In *Verse 11*, as in *Verse 1*, we hear a cry "out of the depths." Not only has Job lost all of outward good he once possessed, not only is his life hastening to its close, but he has also lost those inward treasures which were the true power and joy of his life: his best pur-

poses, his most cherished thoughts and schemes and aims—or, in the fine phrase of the Original, “the possessions of his heart”—are broken in sunder by the stroke which has fallen on him.

Verse 12 presents some difficulty. The most natural, as also the most beautiful and suggestive, reading of it is that which finds the antecedent in the previous Verse, and makes Job lament the loss of the thoughts and purposes he had cherished in his inmost heart because, had these been spared to him, *they* would have turned the night of his sorrow into a joyful day, and brought light into the very face of darkness. But this reading seems to be forbidden by the Hebrew. Our only alternative, therefore, is to fall back on a much tamer construction, and to understand an allusion to “the consolations” of his Friends; to take him as meaning that by their false promises and invitations they were trying to beguile him, to represent his night as a day, or as about to become a day, and pretending to see an impossible light of hope in the darkness which enveloped him.

Verses 13–17.—From this delusive light of hope he recoils on the new hope which God Himself has kindled in his heart, the hope of a future vindication and deliverance. When, or how, it is to be fulfilled, he cannot tell. But probably it will not be in this world. If not, he is content to wait, to carry his hope with him into the grave. He is even familiarizing himself with the grave already, looking to it as his home and bed of rest, saluting corruption and the worm as near of kin to him, as his probable deliverers therefore. *They* would set his spirit free to descend into Hades; and in Hades might he not find a justice denied to him here, and *see*

the hope which was as yet invisible? In any case he will at least find rest from the fret and turmoil of a hungry and divided heart; after life's fitful fever sleeping well.

Canon Cook gives a fine rendering of *Verse 16*, which I should like to adopt. He translates it thus: "*Will the bars of Hades fall? And will there altogether be rest in the grave?*" But this, I think, is a stronger expression of Job's surmise that rest and deliverance await him in the world to come than his words will yet bear. All we can be sure of is that his thoughts were tending in that direction; and that, if it were God's will, he was content to wait till he descended into Hades for that vindication of his integrity for which he nevertheless so passionately longed.

As we look back over the whole of this Reply we must admit, I think, that it marks a great advance. The drama is evidently moving on toward its catastrophe. Job has grasped truths of which he can never henceforth wholly lose hold, truths which are likely to lead him on to conclusions still wider and more definite than any he has yet reached.

'Tis a strange experience through which we have seen him pass, and yet not an experience wholly strange to the more thoughtful spirits of our own time. And if I have a little lingered over it and insisted on it, it is because, in all probability, many of us have passed through a similar experience. The traditional and theologic God of our earlier years has long since grown incredible to us. We could not believe in the hard and austere Master, the angry and pre-scientific God, whom our fathers worshipped. We have had to grope, often

in great doubt and misery, after some higher and more satisfying conception of the Divine Ruler of men. Happy are we if, from the abyss of doubt or from the depths of some divine despair, we, like Job, have seen and climbed the altar-stairs which slope through darkness up to the only wise and true God. S. COX.

*SOME RECENT CRITICAL READINGS IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT.*

I.

WHILE it is satisfactory to think that the great mass of intelligent Englishmen are thoroughly agreed as to the importance of revising the Authorized Version of the Bible, the same thing cannot, as yet at least, be said of their feelings with regard to a revision of its original text. There may be no prejudice against the idea of such revision in the abstract, as indeed it would evidently be impossible for those who look upon the Word of God with becoming reverence to oppose by reasonable argument any earnest, conscientious, and scholarly effort to determine what that Word really was when first delivered to the world by "holy men who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Every one who reflects upon the subject for a moment will acknowledge that precisely in proportion to the degree in which our conception of the influence exerted by the Almighty upon the writers of Scripture approaches what is commonly called Verbal Inspiration, does our obligation increase to see that what they did write shall be presented to us in its purest form. It is not contended by any that the text of the Bible, however pure from erroneous admixture at the first, has been

preserved pure by special or miraculous interposition. It is allowed that it was left to the ordinary results of human guardianship. That guardianship may indeed have been much more careful than in the case of writings to which no Divine authority was attached. We know that it was so with the Old Testament among the Jews, and it forms one of the most honourable characteristics of much of the monastic life of the Middle Ages that those who devoted themselves to the transcription of the New Testament did so with a reverence and a love eminently calculated to secure faithfulness in their work.¹ It ought not indeed to be forgotten that this very reverence of Christendom for its sacred books brought with it dangers that had no existence in the case of books regarded with less pious awe. It led to their being far more frequently copied, and every one knows that the danger of mistake increases with the multiplication of copies. It led to their being copied by men who, though reverent in spirit, were often singularly ignorant of the language they were transcribing, a circumstance again in no small degree increasing the danger of mistake. It led also to their being translated into many different tongues, and it is hardly

¹ The following story, told by Maitland in his "Dark Ages," may be worth repeating, in illustration of the importance attached at that time to the work of transcribing the Scriptures. A prior used to tell his monks the following story :— "There was a monk in a certain monastery who was guilty of many transgressions against its rules. But he was a writer, and, being devoted to writing, he of his own accord wrote out an enormous volume of the divine law. After his death his soul was brought before the tribunal of the just Judge for judgment; and when the evil spirits sharply accused him, and brought forward his innumerable crimes, the holy angels, on the other hand, shewed the book which that monk had written in the house of God, and counted up the letters of that enormous volume as a set-off against the like number of sins. At length the letters had a majority of only one, against which, however, the demons in vain attempted to object any sin. The clemency of the Judge, therefore, spared the monk, and commanded his soul to return to his body, and mercifully granted him space for the reformation of his life" (p. 268).

necessary to say that, as the idioms of these tongues differed from one another, different inquirers now, though proceeding on the supposition that the translations before them are correct, will not always agree as to the original which they represent. Finally, too, it has to be borne in mind upon this point that it can be proved by a sufficient induction of particulars that the greatest corruptions of the New Testament text took place at a very early period of Christian history, long before we have any proof of the existence of that remarkable scrupulosity and care which distinguished the scribes of the Middle Ages. These considerations ought not to be lost sight of when we speak of the guardianship of the text of Scripture by the Early Church, as if it exposed that text to far less risk of error than would have existed had it been viewed with less profound veneration. But we have no need to insist on them at present. The most prejudiced opponent of textual emendation does not rest his opposition to change upon the plea that any miraculous care has been exercised for the preservation of the text. He admits that it has been exposed to the fate of all other texts which have come down to us through a succession of centuries, and he thus occupies substantially the same ground as the Biblical critic, whose labours he is too apt to view with suspicion and distrust.

In these circumstances some other course than that of argument as to principles seems to be called for. The fundamental principle on both sides is the same. It is the application, not the principle in itself, that is in dispute. No doubt there is a great controversy of other principles, which opens up the moment we pass beyond the rudiments of the question. There are the

rival schools of criticism, which may be styled the Ancient and Modern schools; the one consisting of those who deduce the text of the New Testament from the older authorities, few in number; the other of those who depend to a much larger extent, in practice it may be said almost wholly, upon younger authorities, including the great mass of MSS. in our hands. Upon this controversy we have no thought of entering at present. Let us only say that it is not at all the dry study which those who have not tried it imagine it to be. It possesses an interest which may be justly described as being often of a romantic kind. It allies itself in the closest possible manner with every branch of theological attainment. It calls forth the highest powers of the student. No one who thoroughly pursues it will find himself disappointed with the field of work that he has chosen; and it is so boundless in extent that rich tracts of country remain to be explored in which the diligent inquirer will certainly be rewarded for his pains. But this last consideration alone would forbid any attempt to enter upon the controversy now, to say nothing of the fact that we should thus be led away from the task that we have immediately in view.

The frame of mind, then, that we have before us is easily understood. It admits to the full the importance of inquiry, is reverent, devout, justly afraid of anything that threatens to shake the confidence of the mass of men in the stability of Scripture; but it is not sufficiently disciplined by actual experience to feel that we have no right to pay to the mistakes of copyists the honour due to the Divine Word alone, and that here, as in all other Divine things, the true is also in the long run the beneficial. What it needs is the

actual facts of the case, and it may be both interesting and useful to produce a few. There are two ways in which, in doing this, we might go to work.

First, we might take some examples of recently adopted readings which illustrate general topics connected with the New Testament (for we deal only with this), such as the structure of a book, or the spirit of a narrative. The newer readings of the Apocalypse would furnish excellent illustrations of both these points. No book of Scripture, except perhaps the Gospel of St. Mark, has suffered so much from the well-meaning tendency of transcribers to correct supposed mistakes as the Apocalypse. Its strange Greek was a constant puzzle to them; and hence the wonderful process of refining, smoothing, polishing its apparently rough, certainly peculiar, text, which at last ended in the comparatively flat and uninteresting readings of the *Textus Receptus*. Let us look at a small part of it with the purpose in view of which we have spoken. Take the Epistles to the Seven Churches in Chapters ii. and iii. How much light is thrown upon the structure of these remarkable Epistles, how much help even given to their interpretation, when we observe that in the Epistles to Smyrna and Pergamos the words "I know thy works" have no place (Chap. ii. 9, 12). These words are omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort,¹ the editors to whom we propose mainly to refer, but they occur in all the other Epistles to the Churches. The effect is to group Smyrna and Pergamos with Ephesus, and to

¹ As the text of Westcott and Hort is not yet published, it may be well to say that no reference is here made to it except in cases already known, with their sanction, through others, or in which a similar sanction has been obtained by the writer of these pages.

throw the remaining four cities into a separate group. The same conclusion had indeed been often drawn from the difference of place assigned in these two groups to the call, "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." It had been observed that in the first three that call preceded, in the last four followed, the promise, "To him that overcometh;" and the inference had been drawn that we had thus an intimation on the part of the Seer that it was his wish to divide the number 7 into its two parts, 3 and 4. If so, it was obvious that, in dealing with the number of the Churches, we were dealing not with an absolute, but with an artificial and symbolical number, and important consequences followed for the interpretation, not of this part only, but of other parts of the Apocalypse. The inference, however, wanted confirmation. Now it finds it. Again, in the Epistle to Ephesus, at Chapter ii. 5, the *Textus Receptus* reads, "I come unto thee quickly," reading also in the same way in that to Pergamos at Chapter ii. 16. But the Editors of whom we have spoken omit the word "quickly" in the first of these two passages; and the omission is important, especially when combined with the fact that they also omit "behold" in the Epistle to the Church at Philadelphia at Chapter iii. 11. For we have thus an illustration of the *progress*, the *advance*, which characterizes the Seven Epistles as a whole, and at the same time a guide to the principles upon which they must be interpreted.

We take only one other newer reading from this book, illustrative not so much of the structure as of the spirit of its narrative. In the *Textus Receptus*, at Chapter

viii. 13, we read, "And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels, which are yet to sound!" Our four recent editions, however, all read the word "eagle" instead of "angel" in this verse. We accept the reading, and a fresh light is immediately thrown upon the spirit both of the passage and the book, for the "eagle" thus spoken of is not looked at as the bird which, famed for strength and nimbleness of flight, best symbolizes the dominion of the air. It is "the eagle that hasteth to the prey" (Job ix. 26), the bird that supplies their expressive emblem to the Old Testament prophets when they describe the swift and overwhelming destruction that is to come upon Jerusalem and Edom (Jer. iv. 13; xlix. 22). Nor is this all; for a similarly fresh light, when combined with one or two other considerations foreign to our present purpose, falls upon the description of the "living creatures" in Chapter iv. The fourth of these, "like a flying eagle" (Chap. iv. 7), is one of a group whose meaning is therefore to be sought not so much in the nobler as in the fiercer and more terrible qualities of the animals referred to. The whole aspect of the Cherubim is thus changed for us,¹ and not only so; the leading idea of the Apocalypse as to the *judgment* which marks the Almighty, and his dealings, receives confirmation. Illustrations of this kind might be increased, and other readings of modern critics be selected which are of the highest value, not simply for the correct appreciation of single texts of the Apoca-

¹ The writer may be permitted to refer to his paper on the Cherubim in the "Bible Educator," vol. iii. p. 290, for further explanation of the point here spoken of.

lypse, but for the right understanding of the whole *method* and *aim* of the book.

Secondly, instead of pursuing this mode of inquiry, the force of which can hardly be fully estimated except by those who have made the Revelation of St. John a subject of special study, we turn rather to a second way of bringing out the point we have in view, that of considering a few separate and individual texts. Nor shall we select these at random, our purpose being rather to take readings which, though at first sight suspected, appear to commend themselves to further reflection as of great interest and value. Let our first be

Matthew vi. 12.—This petition of the Lord's Prayer runs in the Authorized Version in conformity with the reading of the *Textus Receptus*, "And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." But instead of the present tense of the verb "forgive" in the second clause, the Editors before us read the perfect, "have forgiven." It is true that even Mr. McClellan does the same,¹ and the reading may thus seem hardly to belong to the class with which we are dealing. The principles, however, upon which the verdict must be given in its favour do belong to that class, and the only remark to be made is, that those who apply them in this instance ought also to apply them in many others to which as yet they refuse their application. Adopted, however, by whom it may be, how great the improvement when it is adopted! The clear and positive standing of the Christian is at once seen. It is not the vague "as we forgive," but the distinct "as we also have forgiven."

¹ "The New Testament: a New Translation from a Revised Greek Text. Part I. The Four Gospels." P. 17.

Taught by Divine grace actually to forgive others, knowing that he has done it, the Christian learns experimentally his own position in his Redeemer, and is encouraged to ask that the blessings of that position may be constantly renewed to him. How much more searching, too, is the question for self-examination, "Have I forgiven?" than "Do I forgive?" A complete correspondence is thus also established between the petition before us and the precept of Chapter v. 23, 24: "Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." More than all, the later reading seems valuable in pointing out to us the true character of the three Chapters of St. Matthew as a whole (Chap. v.-vii.), in which the Lord's Prayer occurs. It is often said that they contain nothing but plain, simple, elementary teaching; and they are contrasted with what is considered the profounder, the more metaphysical, more difficult, teaching of the Fourth Gospel, to the disadvantage of the latter. The comparison has in it something that is true, but quite as much that is false. More metaphysical the discourses of Jesus in St. John's Gospel may be, profounder or more difficult they are not. So far from being a sermon for babes, the Sermon on the Mount presupposes for the understanding of it the very bloom of Christian feeling, the very ripeness of Christian life. He to whom that Sermon is to be a reality and not a name must have behind him the long experience of Christian living in an evil world. It is of the utmost consequence, in the light of many errors of the day, that we should have a

sense of this ; and it will come home to us with constantly increasing power the more we try to enter into all that is involved in the prayer, "Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors."

Matthew vii. 29.—Here we read in the Authorized Version, "For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes;" and the Greek for that translation rests upon nine uncials, most cursives, and the Gothic, while it is also the undisputed reading of *St. Mark* i. 22 and *St. Luke* v. 30. But the *Codex Sinaiticus*, the *Codex Vaticanus*, the *Codex Ephræmi* 3, one or two other uncials, several cursives, one old Latin expressly, and several by inference, the Armenian and Æthiopic Versions, the Vulgate and Syriac by inference, and one or two Fathers, add an *αὐτῶν*, thus giving the rendering, "not as *their* scribes," instead of "not as *the* scribes." The authority for this latter reading may be considered as decisive, and the *αὐτῶν* ("their") is accordingly inserted in all the four editions of which we speak. Adopting the later reading, which has the undoubted weight of authority on its side, its value is immediately apparent in relation to one of the most important controversies of the day, that relating to the authenticity of the Gospel of *St. John*. It is one of the objections most frequently urged against the authorship of that Gospel by the beloved disciple, that "the Jews" are spoken of in it as persons with whom the writer has no connection. No Jew, it is urged, could have spoken in that way; there is nothing like it in the earlier Gospels; it at once betrays the author's Gentile birth. It is not doubted that the author of the First Gospel was a Jew; yet, with the reading now before us as the true one, we have the very method of expression that we find in

the Gospel of St. John, only much more explicable in the case of the latter than of the former, when account is taken either of its date, or of the circumstances amidst which it was composed.

Let us turn to the Gospel of St. Mark.

Mark vi. 22.—The reading of the *Textus Receptus* supplies the rendering of our English Bibles: "And when the daughter of the said Herodias came in, and pleased Herod, and them that sat at meat with him, the king said unto the damsel, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give it thee." But there is a very remarkable reading here, adopted however by Westcott and Hort alone, which substitutes the masculine for the feminine pronoun (*αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῆς*), thus producing the rendering, "And when *his* daughter Herodias came in," and making the girl the daughter of Herod himself, and her name Herodias. Both these conclusions are of a very startling character; and it need be no matter of surprise that Dr. Scrivener, who discusses the reading, should speak of it as certainly false, partly because St. Mark is thus brought into direct contradiction with Josephus, that historian quoting Salome as the name of the daughter of Herod-Philip by Herodias, who did not leave her husband till after Salome's birth; and partly because of "the extreme improbability that even Herod the Tetrarch should have allowed his own child to degrade herself in such wise as Salome did here, or that Salome could not have carried her point with her father without resorting to licentious allurements" ("Intro. to Bibl. Crit." second edition, p. 473). As the reading is a particularly interesting and testing one, it may be well to mention the evidence. For *αὐτῆς* (Authorized Version, "the said") there is the

authority of the Codex Alexandrinus, the Codex Ephræmi, and several other uncials, almost all cursives, and the later Syriac. To these, Tischendorf adds; within brackets, several old Latins and the Vulgate, which read *ipsius*; but no weight can be attached to these, because *ipsius* may be masculine, and in the Latin translation of the Cambridge Codex certainly is so. For αὐτοῦ ("his") we have the Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus, the Cambridge Codex, the Codex Regius, and one other, together with two cursives. Add to this that three cursives, three Old Latins, the Memphitic, Armenian, Æthiopic, and Gothic Versions omit the pronoun altogether, a fact much more easily explained by the supposition that they took offence at the masculine than at the feminine pronoun, and thus leading to the inference that the masculine was originally there to make them offended at it; and it will hardly be denied that the external evidence is in favour of the masculine. We may look at the matter in another light, and our conclusion will not be different. For, applying the great rule of criticism, that that is the true reading out of which the others were most likely to spring, we are led at once to the masculine form. The variations are the feminine form and the omission of the pronoun altogether. If it was originally omitted, it is difficult to see why, not needed, it should ever have been inserted. If it was originally there, but in the feminine form, we can understand the omission, for it is both unusual and unnecessary; but it is impossible to understand the change to the masculine. If it was originally there, but in the masculine form, the just offence taken at the abominable character of the act might easily lead some to escape the difficulty by changing it to the feminine, others by

omitting it altogether. Finally, taking into account the extreme difficulty of the reading, there appears to be no way of escaping the conclusion that Westcott and Hort are right, unless we are to abandon principles, and to be guided by empiricism in the settlement of the text. The great source of perplexity is, of course, the statement of Josephus that Herodias had a daughter to her first husband Herod-Philip, after whose birth she forsook her husband and married Herod-Antipas, his half-brother, the Herod of our text, and that this daughter's name was Salome (*Antiq.* xviii. 5, 4). But, even at the worst, may not the authority of the Evangelist be equal to that of Josephus? May not Josephus be mistaken? Or, without putting our two authorities in opposition to each other, may not Herodias and Salome be the names of two different persons, the latter the legitimate daughter of Herod-Philip and his wife Herodias, the former an illegitimate daughter of Herodias by Herod-Antipas, whom she afterwards married? Josephus would not be likely to notice the first of these two children, as he deals only with the legitimate line; and illegitimacy may help to explain the fact that the girl was permitted by her father to dance before his guests. It is urged that Herod could not have permitted his own daughter to do so, but is it not equally incredible that he should have granted such liberty to a legitimate daughter of his wife? On the other hand, difficulties seem in some degree to disappear upon the supposition that the girls Herodias and Salome were two different persons, the former a child born in adultery to Herod-Antipas by the woman who afterwards forsook her lawful husband to marry him. Some small measure of confirmation may even

seem to be given to this supposition by another statement of Josephus, that Salome married Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis. It is hardly possible to imagine that a girl who had danced before Herod's guests could have made such a match. If, then, this reading of the masculine pronoun, as yet placed in the text by Westcott and Hort alone, be accepted, we have a new fact added to ancient history, and another ray of lurid light thrown upon the iniquitous character of Herodias and the dissoluteness of the Herodian family.

Mark vi. 20.—Speaking in this verse of Herod's relation to John the Baptist, the Authorized Version reads: "For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly." This "did many things" must strike every reader as remarkably tame and meaningless, yet it is vouched for by an array of authorities so great that nothing but the firmest grasp of the principle that leads to the preference of even a few ancient texts over an endless mass of copies with modern ones can justify departure from it. Even Lachmann did not think the evidence for change satisfactory, and here deserts us for the *Textus Receptus*. Tischendorf, Tregelles (alternatively), and Westcott and Hort adopt, however, another reading, vouched for by a few, but these first class, authorities. It consists in the substitution of another verb for that rendered "did." The one verb differs only by two letters from the other, but it conveys an entirely different meaning; and, making it necessary at the same time to understand the word for "many things" adverbially, a sense in which it is used several other times in this Gospel, it supplies the translation, "he was much

perplexed." Instead of the utterly lifeless character of the Authorized Version, so peculiarly inconsistent with the vivid graphic style of St. Mark, we have then the struggle in Herod's mind admirably presented to us in a double series of contrasts.

Herod feared John,
And kept him safe.

He was greatly perplexed,
And heard him gladly.

We pause here for the present. In a second and closing paper upon this subject we propose to consider some later readings in the Gospel of St. John and in the Epistles of the New Testament, and to draw the general conclusion.

W. MILLIGAN.

*DIVINE MYTHS.*¹

IF I were to say, without preface or explanation, that I look upon the earlier records of Genesis as myths, devoid of direct historical value, I suppose I should be set down at once by the mass of good Christian people as a free-thinker, or, at least, as holding a very low and shadowy view of Inspiration. And yet I think they would be very much mistaken. As a fact, I hold, and hold very earnestly, what seems to many quite an extreme and old-fashioned doctrine of Inspiration. I believe firmly and devoutly that the Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, is the word of God; I believe that the Spirit of God not only moved by secret impulses the

¹ It is well, I think, that even this method of interpreting the earlier Chapters of Genesis should be stated for consideration and discussion; and I do not see how it could be stated more ably or more reverently than in the following pages. But it must be remembered that THE EXPOSITOR is not pledged to this interpretation of them, nor indeed to any other.—EDITOR.

minds of the sacred writers, but also overruled to a great extent the *ipsissima verba* of Holy Writ. And nowhere do I feel (rightly or wrongly) the Divine inspiration more strongly and pervadingly than in the early records of Genesis: every sentence (as St. Augustine says) contains a mystery. And yet I do regard these records as myths; and I think that all the efforts made, and still being made, to reconcile their statements with history and with science are only so much earnestness and ingenuity thrown away. This is my position, and I know it will seem very strange and very shocking to many, perhaps to most. All I ask is to be allowed to shew, if I can, with such poor skill as I have, that it is a tenable position for a loyal Christian to hold. In my own private opinion, which I do not in the least wish to force upon any one else, it is also the only really defensible position which the believer can take up against modern assaults upon the Bible. I will set forth my argument briefly in the following form.

1. There is a Divine and there is a human element in the Bible.

2. The Divine is constant; the human is variable, because adapted to the varying intelligence, to the changing cast of thought, of successive ages.

3. The human element in Scripture follows the general laws of historical development, both in matter and in form. In other words, the Divine Inspiration seized upon that form of literature which commended itself to the intelligence of the particular age, and made use of it as a vehicle of sacred truth.

4. The most archaic form in which human intelligence has spontaneously and legitimately clothed itself is the myth.

5. The myth, therefore, is found at the beginning of sacred, as of all other, history.

6. The myth has its own place, beauty, and truth (though not historic), even in secular literature: much more, when inspired, it is an admirable vehicle of moral and spiritual teaching.

It is necessary, first of all, to dwell a little upon the *form* which the sacred writings take as they stand in the Old Testament. The form which literary productions (or their oral equivalents) take varies immensely with the age and the country. To this day, in many parts of the East, amusement, instruction, information, are conveyed in the form of stories. The Book of Job is (according to one received opinion) the inspired example of this kind of literature. It is a sacred drama, which does not hesitate to introduce the Divine Being Himself as an actor and speaker, and to put words into his mouth—words which are strictly conformable to the tone of thought and knowledge of nature (such as it was) which then prevailed. I do not think it in the least irreverent, considering as I do the Book of Job to be one of the most Divine of the Divine writings, to say that it is *in form* a religious drama of the most primitive style, such as commended itself to the best and truest intelligence of that far-off age as the natural vehicle of religious truth. At any rate, I am justified by the known opinion of many most orthodox Divines in saying that the Book of Job is *in form* such a fiction as we could not imagine in any Christian writer, even in an inspired apostle.

Again, the writings of Solomon are in their form strictly conformed to the mind of his age. It is hard for the most devout modern mind to understand how

an inner inspiration can be united with so strange an outward form as that presented by the Book of Proverbs. Still more strange it might seem that Divine truth should hide itself beneath the impassioned words of an antique love-song. Yet good Christians accept this, and rightly feel that the form so strange to us was in perfect harmony with the tone of mind of a period at once rude and artificial, highly civilized on some lines, hardly removed from barbarism on others. I need not speak of the poetry which forms so large a portion of the Old Testament, because there is nothing strange to *us* in that. In this respect we are more akin to the Old Testament writers than the apostles, themselves. The poetry of the ancient Scriptures disappears almost entirely in the Septuagint (and the same is largely true of the Vulgate), but it reappears marvellously in our Authorized Version.

Now what does this come to? That, just as God adapted his permissions and even his commands to the slowly-rising moral sense of the people, so He chose as the vehicle of Divine instruction just that outward form—of history, drama, poetry, proverb, love-song—which arose spontaneously out of the intellectual character of the age. Is it not all in keeping? Is it not just what we should expect of Him who, even in matters of moral import, *took men as He found them and made the best of them?*

If, then, we find specimens of all other literary forms (however unlikely) among the sacred writings, why not of the myth too? All other history runs up into myth; why not the sacred history?

Let us ask ourselves *why* we find myths at the beginning of all history. Was it that men were liars then

more than afterwards? Was it that they had any thought to deceive, or any purpose in deceiving? Modern criticism has banished any such idea. There is nothing disreputable about a genuine myth. It was simply the spontaneous growth of its age. It was the form which the truth of those days naturally assumed, for every genuine myth contains *some* germ of truth, historical, natural, or moral. Sometimes it was a conviction of certain past facts; sometimes a yearning after a possible future; sometimes a picturesque reading of natural phenomena, which embodied itself in the myth. But at any rate there are two things which all will allow, since the days of Niebuhr, about myths. 1st. They are not "untrue," if "untrue" carries any sense of falsity or of contempt. 2nd. They are not "true," if "true" involves any assignable historical value. And so, in our more scientific histories, the myths are placed at the beginning; they are given for what they are worth, as standing in *some* relation to actual history, though *what* relation it is now impossible to say. All histories which are at all perfect begin in much the same way: they begin with individuals, either actual or symbolic, who built cities, founded families, migrated into new lands, gave the first impulse to some new growth of human industry, order, and civilization. Some of these heroes of ancient story may have been existing personages, only shewing larger and grander through the mists of ages than in real life. But others (and these are the more frequent) are purely mythical, symbolic beings, in whom some popular tradition or belief or feeling, more or less true, has embodied itself. Those who have ever followed up a Devonshire river to its moorland source know exactly

what to expect from the next river they come upon. They recognize every one of its stages, as they track it upwards, and they know exactly what sort of scenery they are coming to, until they reach at last the little rivulet that runs among bogs and rushes beneath its turfy banks. So it is with histories of whatever nation. They run up through certain well-known and easily-recognized stages, until they lose themselves as histories and assume the form of unhistoric myths. And I venture to believe that it is just the same in the sacred history. Every candid reader of the Bible will at least allow that it is so in appearance. Its records present the same stages, in the same order, as those of other histories. We cannot escape the comparison ; we cannot prevent thoughtful minds from perceiving the outwardly perfect analogy, both in position and in character, between the myths of other histories and the first chapters of Genesis. We may tell them it is wrong ; we may say that the outward likeness, however irresistibly convincing in any other case, is entirely misleading here ; we may contend that, while poetry, allegory, proverb, love-song, drama, are fitting forms for the embodiment of Divine truth, the myth is not and cannot be. But we are driving men into a painful and a dangerous dilemma : either they must give the lie to the most established conclusions of historical science, or else they must give up their faith in the Old Testament Scriptures altogether. In any other history we should say, without a moment's hesitation, that the stories of Adam and Eve, of Cain and Abel, and so on, were myths, such as were in every land the natural embodiment of truth and thought before history existed. We should say this, *not* because of their

supernatural element, but because the whole cast of these stories is essentially mythical. Now, this being certainly the case, it is also certain that we cannot prevent thoughtful minds from applying to the sacred writings the same canons which they apply to all other writings ; we cannot persuade them that what is palpably (in form) a myth is yet historically true, any more than we can persuade them that what is palpably poetry is to be understood as simple prose. What is it, then, which compels us to make this really hopeless attempt? What holds us back from allowing that the early records of the Bible really are mythical? It is, no doubt, the fear, first, of disparaging these records themselves ; second, of compromising later records. Let us look this fear in the face.

And, first, I say that for the highest purposes a myth may be, and often is, just as valuable as a history. Can the world produce from secular history anything that has been more valuable, more fruitful in noble thoughts and noble deeds, than the myth of Marcus Curtius, who leaped into the gulf in order to save his country? Who would dare to place that myth upon a lower level of worth than the later records of actual Roman history? Who is not glad that he has read it himself, glad that his boys should read it after him, glad that it remains to every generation a glorious example of that self-sacrificing heroism which lies latent in every age and in almost every heart of man? What Christian is there that does not see in this myth an unconscious prophecy (inspired, we know not how, in heathen minds by the Spirit of God) of that one sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world once offered upon the Cross? To take another

example. Does the story of William Tell lose its value because historians pronounce it to be a myth? Has it, therefore, done less to rid the world of tyrants, less to inspire the hearts of men with patient courage? Does it make *any* practical difference, if it *was* a myth? It will surely be conceded that the moral value of a myth is at least as great as that of a real history; while undistinguished from the records of actual fact it is a wondrous history, full of example; when distinguished, it becomes a beautiful parable, full of teaching.¹

I have said this much about secular myths in order to shew that they have a place of their own, not amongst the lies and falsities which have everywhere aped and obscured the truth, but amongst the spontaneous and innocent (and often most valuable) productions of human intelligence at a certain stage of its development. There was, I repeat, nothing disreputable about the myth; it was the natural expression of the thoughts and beliefs of very early times. If subsequent ages mistook them for real histories, and were misled, that arose from the lack of science, and ought not to be visited upon the innocent myth.

This being granted, it seems to follow from the very character of the Old Testament writings that they should begin with myths. The same Divine Spirit who fearlessly seized upon all other forms (however apparently unsuitable) in which the thought of each succeeding age naturally clothed itself—that same

¹ I might add that the myth is not always devoid of historical value, although it is not history. I suppose that the story of Hengist and Horsa is a myth; but if we take it as representing the state of things which led to the English conquest of Britain, we are probably as near the truth as we are ever likely to be. The Arthurian myth, on the other hand, seems to have no historical value at all, but its moral value will hardly be underrated in this day.

Spirit, I hold, was not afraid to clothe his teachings and revelations in the most archaic form of all, the form of myth. If He had not done so, He would have done violence to the naturalness and continuity of the human element in the Bible, that naturalness and continuity which are so perfectly preserved everywhere else.

I am aware, however, that it *is*, and *must be*, a shock to the devout mind, educated in the ideas of the present day, to be told that anything narrated in the Bible—narrated apparently as a fact—is a myth. Living, as we do, amidst lies and fictions manifold, our sense of truth is intensified, and is thereby irresistibly narrowed. A good person of little education has often no conception of any truth but historical truth. He cannot away even with fairy stories or allegories. He devoutly believes that the man who fell among thieves, the Publican, the Pharisee, and the Prodigal Son, were existing personages. He is not easy in his mind about Christian and Christiana, Matthew, Mercy, and Great-heart, because he has suspicions that they “never lived.” Mother Be-done-by-as-you-did is an abomination unto him, because on the face of her she is fabulous.

I suppose most of us are not so narrow as that : it would not even occur to us to say that the “Prometheus Vincitus” of Æschylus or the “Hamlet” of Shakespeare was “false,” because not historical. In their own way we feel that they have a great and abiding truth, albeit not historical. It may be said that “Prometheus Vincitus” and “Hamlet” do not profess to be histories, but only plays, creations of the poet’s fancy. It may be said, as it certainly will be felt, that if the early records of Genesis are myths, they ought

to be inscribed as myths, so that there should be no mistaking them. But that would be to shew an entire ignorance of the course of human thought. The myth never did distinguish itself from history, because it was ignorant of any such distinction. The myth was something that arose, like a flower, which grew like the blade in the field, men knew not how, as they lived their simple lives and their thoughts stirred within them. The myth was a natural, not an artificial, product; no one questioned it; no one said it was either true or false historically, because there was neither the motive to make the inquiry nor the possibility of deciding it. It would be a simple anachronism for the myths of Genesis to declare themselves to be unhistoric, and anachronisms are just the things we do *not* find in the Bible, because its human development is above all perfectly natural. It is, as I have pointed out, a perfectly orthodox position (whether right or wrong) that the Book of Job is a religious drama, not a history; yet there is not a single hint to be found in the book itself that it is other than a sober narration of facts. The story of the Rich Man and Lazarus is more commonly considered as a parable; but on the face of it it is a history, and there is nothing but internal evidence and the analogy of other parables to bring its historical character into question. The same may be said for the (always so-called) *parable* of the Prodigal Son. Yet this doubtfulness whether these Divine stories are fact or fiction makes no possible difference to the preacher. Finding them where they are, in the Gospel, he knows he may use them, and he does use them, *for all moral and spiritual purposes*, exactly as if they were literally true. And so, with regard to the early records

of Genesis, finding them where we do, in the Bible, we have the warranty of the Holy Ghost for treating them as true for all moral and spiritual purposes; but that is wholly independent of the question of historical truth.

Such is the substance of my argument. I wish to supplement it, first, by urging what seems to me the special value of the myth, regarded as to its outward form; second, by anticipating the most obvious objections to its use.

The value then of the myth, as used in Scripture, is the negative but most important fact that, being unhistoric, it does not give any definite information as to facts. The Mosaic cosmogony, *e.g.*, tells us that God made the world, but gives us absolutely no real information as to how He made it. It may seem strange that this should be claimed as an advantage. Yet I make bold to say that one great necessity which controlled the Divine utterances was the necessity of *not* anticipating the researches, the discoveries, the speculations, of history, of geology, or of other sciences. It is surely evident to every one who has at all followed the progress of modern thought, that the Bible records were never intended to assist, much less to govern, the course of discovery and research. As a simple fact, those records have hindered the growth of science, because a kind of truth has been imputed to them which they do not possess. Science has carried one position after another against the vigorous opposition of those who claimed to have Genesis clearly on their side. Let any one consider the long "conflict" between Scripture and Science. Let him recall all the ingenious and painful "reconciliations" by which the Mosaic cosmogony has

been forced into agreement with, or even into support of, each established conclusion of geology. Let him think of the hopeless efforts made to maintain the universality of the Flood, and the dispersion of all animal life from one comparatively recent centre—efforts now practically abandoned in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Now all this practical uselessness of the Scriptures for any scientific purpose seems to me one of their most Divine features. Surely if we believe that this world is God's world ; that human powers of thought, of patient research, of brilliant theory, were given by God in order to be used ; that He foresaw and fore-ordained that knowledge was to grow as it has grown and is growing ; then we must believe that God always meant to give free play to all this use of human power, this growth of human knowledge. He could not have meant to anticipate, to trammel and fetter, that growth by a revelation which should occupy the same field as the sciences of this century. In the name of God who gave it, I would protest against the very idea that the Bible should be used as a primer of ancient history, or a little handbook of geology. God made the world, but how He made it, and through what courses, He has left to the laborious research and quick intelligence of man to find out. God made man, but how long ago, or through what stages, or by what developments, He has left to man himself to find out, that man may exercise all his powers on the problem—and, it may be, confess himself ignorant after all. A similar principle seems to me to run all through the canon of Scripture. If there is one elementary truth of astronomy which is absolutely necessary, not only to a *correct*, but also to a

worthy, conception of the vastness and beauty of God's creation, it is the fact that the earth goes round the sun; and yet the Holy Writings gave no hint whatever of this fact, but, on the contrary, adopted the popular language, which entirely ignores it. The history of Israel twice cuts across the plane of secular history, once in Egypt, once in Assyria and Babylonia. After all the labour and ingenuity spent upon the subject, what is the practical result? That the Sacred Records are allowed to be in general agreement with the manners and circumstances of those countries, but that it is impossible to piece together the Bible history and the history of the ancient world as learnt from other sources. Twenty different theories, *e.g.*, have been started as to who the Pharaoh of the Exodus was: several are plausible, none convincing. Are we not, then, driven to believe that the Divine Records do, in a most singular way, keep within their own lines, and avoid interference with the sphere of ordinary history? For, indeed, the Bible was intended to teach morality and religion and knowledge of God: it was not intended to throw any real light on history or on geology or on any other science.

I turn now to the objections which are sure to be urged against the theory of inspired myths.

And the first will be this, that it imports a hopeless confusion into the Old Testament writings; that it makes it impossible to know whether we are reading fact or fiction; that if we admit myths at all we can never say where they end.

I do not deny that the objection is serious. It arises out of the very nature, the very *naturalness*, of the outer form employed by Divine inspiration. Unques-

tionably there are many different forms of literature to be found in the Bible, and it is not always possible to say where one ends and another begins. We are not unfrequently left to internal evidence to decide what is prose and what poetry, what drama and what history, what fact and what fiction. Joshua's command to the sun to stand still is considered by some a plain narrative of fact, by others, a quotation from a book of poetry. Other instances might be multiplied to shew that fact and fiction (using the latter word in a perfectly innocent sense) are not always to be distinguished in the Old Testament. Scripture is never careful, as a modern book must of necessity be, to label its various portions with their precise literary character. Even in the New Testament there are some curious instances of a similar peculiarity, as it seems to us. Of the speeches recorded in the third Chapter of St. John, and in the second Chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, no one knows, or can know, how much belongs to the original speaker and how much has been added by the writer: the one slides insensibly into the other. Now in a modern writer this would be simple dishonesty. In the case of St. John and St. Paul (even setting aside their inspiration) no one dreams of dishonesty: to do as they did was perfectly natural to their tone of thought.

It is not wonderful, then, if we cannot tell precisely where Divine myth slides into sacred history? It is a matter for internal testimony chiefly, and for comparison with the ascertained results of scientific research. If a man start with the assumption that everything in the Bible is true in the hardest literal sense, he will be in fearful danger of stumbling; if he start with the as-

sumption that the Mosaic writings are impudent forgeries, he will go wildly astray ; if he believe that all the Scriptures, being God-inspired, are profitable for his soul, but that their historical value is merely a matter of evidence external and internal, he need neither stumble nor go astray : he may make mistakes, but his mistakes will be of small importance, and will not imperil his faith. For me, personally, sacred history begins with Abraham. His intense individuality stamps him as real. Adam may be a shadow ; Enoch, Methuselah, Noah himself, shadows ; but Abraham is a man of like passions with ourselves, and a man whose religious character, peculiar as it was and intensely personal, has yet stamped itself upon all his children, Jewish and Christian. Under the most extreme dissimilarity of outward circumstance and social manners, we look back through many thousand years, and recognize Abraham as our veritable living father in the faith of God.

But a far more serious difficulty remains behind. It will be said, " If you admit myths in the Old Testament, how can you exclude them from the New ? The resurrection of Christ is accounted a myth, a religious myth, embodying a pious hope, by a certain school of unbelief. Will you not put a powerful weapon into their hands ? "

A weapon it might be, but one which could not really nor honestly serve them. If I believe that the Divine Inspiration employed myths when myths were natural and innocent, I am not any nearer believing that Divine Inspiration employed myths when myths were neither natural nor innocent. The first authors of written records gravely reported myths without the least

intention to deceive : if a modern writer did the same he would be accounted a liar. The very dissimilarity, the extreme contrast, between the conditions of time and place and thought of the Mosaic records on one side, and the Gospels on the other, render it impossible to carry over any argument from the one to the other. Myths were not the natural production of the apostolic age or of the age of Josephus ; the distinction between the actual and the imaginary was fully felt, and could not have been innocently ignored. It would neither have been natural nor morally possible for inspired men (or even merely honest men), narrating contemporary facts, of which they professed to be eye-witnesses, to add on a mythical Resurrection to an actual Crucifixion. For these two events are treated by the Christian writers as mutually complementary ; they are two sides of one shield ; in prophecy, in record, in argument, they go ever hand in hand. To hold that the one was a plain historical fact and the other a myth does the utmost violence to the whole character of the age and of the men, as Professor Godet has ably shewn. But to hold that the earliest records of Genesis are myths is only to bring them into perfect harmony with the mind of the earliest age.

I propose to conclude this paper with a brief examination of one of these Divine myths, as I have ventured to call them, in order to shew how entirely one who believes in Inspiration may accept the moral and spiritual teaching of a passage which he distinctly considers un-historic. No passage from the early Mosaic records is more often referred to in the New Testament than the creation of Eve. None presents more startling difficulties, if accepted as describing a "physical fact." I think

it would be very difficult to find an educated layman, who had at all studied the subject, who still believed that passage to be literally true. I freely acknowledge for myself that I do not regard it as throwing any scientific light upon the origin of sex or the physical relation of woman to man. I should certainly suppose that man, whenever he did appear upon the scene, appeared, like all the other animals, male and female. And the geological evidence is tolerably convincing that men and women lived and multiplied long ages before any date which can be assigned to Adam and Eve as existing personages.

But although I do not regard the story as *historic*, yet I do most fully believe that it is *inspired*; and, therefore, I can most fully accept *all* the lessons, moral or spiritual, which our Lord and his apostles draw from that story. The myth of the creation of Eve is as true for all religious purposes as is the parable of the Good Samaritan. Under the form of a myth it sets forth to all ages the Divine purpose, the Divine ideal, the Divine meaning, in the relation of the sexes and in the institution of marriage. This much is guaranteed by the fact of its being in the Bible, being part of the word of God, and is perfectly independent of any question of its historical value. To sum up briefly the moral teaching of this myth. It expresses the subordinate and (so to speak) derivative position of woman, as St. Paul so forcibly teaches. It expresses also the entire oneness and equality of nature between man and woman, as St. Paul is also careful to teach. Again, it expresses the Divine origin and ideal of marriage, as the indissoluble union of one and one, in the name of God. It remains as an inspired protest, not only against

polygamy, but against every falling away from the pure ideal, as our Lord Himself pointed out when rebuking the facility of divorce.

It expresses, too (what needs to be maintained in these days), the holiness of marriage from the beginning, quite irrespective of any outward forms. The State may interfere to regulate, the Church may intervene to bless; but marriage itself is a "natural sacrament," essentially the same amongst virtuous heathens as amongst the most orthodox Christians.

All this is surely most important, and not one whit less true because it is taught us under the form of an inspired myth. But there is more truth, and deeper truth, to be found in it still. St. Paul teaches us that earthly marriage is a picture and symbol of "the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church;" and he chooses the very words of Adam concerning Eve in order to set forth the union and unity which exists between Christ and his spiritual members.¹

This opens up to us a whole field of spiritual interpretation. Adam and Eve are types of Christ and the Church, just as Hagar and Sarah are of the older and later Covenants. Adam slept, and his side was opened; Christ slept in death upon the cross, and his side was opened by the Roman spear. From the side of Adam Eve was formed, and presented to him as his wife. From the side of Christ came forth those life-giving streams, the water and the blood, by which He doth sanctify and cleanse the Church, his bride, that He may present it to Himself a glorious Church, the Lamb's

¹ The strong words of Ephesians v. 30 are almost certainly taken from Genesis ii. 23, as the following verse of the Epistle is simply quoted from the following verse in Genesis.

wife. I will not go on with the allegory ; I will not ask any one to accept it who does not like it, or who thinks it unsafe to venture one step beyond the explicit "spiritual" interpretations of the New Testament. But I will ask to be allowed to believe it myself ; and I will claim this much credit for my position, that while I no longer attribute any historical or scientific value to these early records, I retain a full and unhesitating faith in their moral and spiritual truth.

RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

IN FEW WORDS.

A NOTE ON HEBREWS xiii. 22.

EVERY reader of this Epistle, coming upon this Verse at its close, must feel its strangeness. It is rendered in our Version: "And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation: for I have written a letter unto you in few words." The "few words" are nearly as many as those contained in the Epistles to the Romans and to the Corinthians; and, judging by the usual length of the apostolical letters, and by the length of the letters addressed to the Churches by Clement, Barnabas, and others, the Epistle to the Hebrews cannot be considered short. The usual explanation of *διὰ βραχέων*, *briefly, within a short compass*, is that the writer means to say that he has written "in few words," considering the importance and difficulty of the subjects he has been handling. Which is true enough; only this remark would have applied to a writing of almost any length. Besides, what reason could he have for think-

ing that a short treatise on such a theme as that which occupied his pen would be more acceptable than a larger and more complete treatment of it? People are not impatient of thoughtful discourse, but they are impatient of *advice*. Hortatory address, to be effectual, must be brief. When the finger of earnest counsel is laid upon the heart and conscience, it must be quickly withdrawn. We resent a lengthened pressure upon such a tender spot. And the most natural explanation of λόγος παρακλήσεως is to refer it, not to the occasional hortatory addresses which break in upon the course of the writer's argument, but to the admonitory counsels contained in the concluding Chapter.

It has been suggested that the four last Verses of the Epistle are an addition to the original discourse by some copyist, and that the phrase διὰ βραχέων ἐπέστειλα ὑμῖν refers to these as properly his own; but the obvious objection to this is that it is very unnatural to suppose a reference in this phrase to what follows rather than to what precedes. The solution of the difficulty seems to offer itself in a meaning of ἐπιστέλλω, which has been overlooked by the commentators. They have adopted a later meaning of the word, "to send a letter," but both Thucydides and Xenophon use it in the sense of "to enjoin," "command." (References may be found in Liddell and Scott.) So Æschylus (*Agam.* 908) uses τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα in the sense of *orders given*. Now the concluding paragraphs of the Epistle, commencing, "Let brotherly love continue," have just that tone of authoritative admonition to which ἐπέστειλα would apply. The writer enjoins and admonishes in them rather than reasons; and it is for this strain of authoritative admonition that he apologetically asks

a favourable reception. The difficulty disappears if, instead of the rendering in our Version, we read: "And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation; for *I have admonished* you in few words.

E. W. SHALDERS.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SALVATOR MUNDI. *By Samuel Cox* (C. Kegan Paul and Co.). This volume, evidently a work long pondered over, has been sent forth at a time when the subject with which it deals is exciting deep interest in the Christian world. There is no doubt that a well-grounded horror at the results which had grown out of a corrupt teaching of the doctrine of Purgatory caused our forefathers, at the time of the Reformation and in the religious struggles which immediately succeeded it, to give excessive prominence to the view that the doom of man was everlastingly fixed at the moment of his departure from this world. This was the excess generated of violent controversy, and now we are experiencing the revulsion or recoil of feeling which sooner or later was sure to occur.

In "Salvator Mundi" the author strives to direct this reverse current of thought, and then to shew that in so doing he does not put out of sight, or in any degree make less forcible, the teaching of Scripture, that sin is enmity unto God, and entails on the sinner banishment from God's presence. To accomplish the first portion of his aim he devotes the larger part of the volume to an examination of those passages on which most stress has been laid by the advocates of everlasting perdition. His conclusions are that the word "to damn" should be expunged from the New Testament; that the same measure should be meted out to the word "hell," and that such adjectives as *æonial* should be adopted for the rendering of *αἰώνιος*, so constantly now translated *eternal* and *everlasting*. With the first of these conclusions most men at the present day, and with the sense attributed generally to the word *damn* before their minds, would entirely agree; and in some passages where this word is now used the substitution of *judge* or *condemn* is a positive gain even to those who eliminate from the other rendering its more terrible force. But for the exclusion of the word *hell* there does not seem to be so much need, nor is there any substitute proposed that would be endurable

in a version of the Bible meant for ordinary reading. "Hell fire" may, as a translation, be attended with difficulties, but "the Gehenna of fire" is surely not less so. Nor does there seem to be the need for such exclusion. The word *hell* stands in the Creeds where few will associate it with the notion of torture, and Mr. Cox has given instances where not long ago the word was used in a sense very alien to that of a place of torment. To those examples, if we add the kindred words *helm* and *helmet*, names for a covering and protection of the head; *helm*, used in many districts of England for a temporary cattle shed; also *to hell*, employed as a verb to describe the earthing up of celery or potatoes; and the term *hillier*, for a slater or tiler; to which may be further added the common mother's expression, "It costs much to *hill* (*i.e.*, to clothe) and fill a large family;" we have surely enough groundwork in our language on which teachers may build in their explanation of this word, and may accomplish all that is needed without introducing Sheol, Gehenna, Hades, or Tartarus into our *English Bible*. Nor does it appear likely that *æonial* will ever find favour in English. Words are our masters far more frequently than our servants. But if *eternal*, which is *æviternal*, that is, *agelong*, were kept for the translation of *αἰώνιος*, of which it is a cognate, and the reader were instructed that *eternal* and *everlasting* are words of widely different meaning, all that is desired in this matter might be gained. In a translated Bible there must needs be ever something left for the preacher, and in giving a correct sense to *eternal* there would be no more burden of explanation laid upon him than by the strange transliteration *æonial*.

The second part of his work the author has performed very ably. The substance of his pleading can be most aptly given in his own words. "We admit that if men pass out of this age unrighteous and impenitent they must be banished from the presence and glory of God in the age to come, must pass through the pangs of death before they can be born again unto life." It is on the words, "in the age to come," that the writer wishes emphasis to be laid. The punishment of sin is not represented as less sure or less terrible, but for the immortal everlasting soul he has shewn that what Scripture teaches is that the punishment of sin shall be *agelong*, *æviternal*, *eternal*, but not *everlasting*. What the length of each age of remedial punishment shall be is left to God's decision, who alone knows the worth of each action done here, and the strength of each struggle against temptation. As ages vary in this world, so, and in a higher degree, will ages that are to come vary in duration, but no age of punishment be everlasting.

In the whole argument there is nothing that can be attacked as offering impunity to sinners, or detracting from the Divine attribute of justice; and few exhortations to a holy life and preparation for the world to come could be more powerful than the picture drawn in the last chapter of the misery which after death awaits the unclothed spirit of that man who has lived a sensual life here. His torment will begin when all the faculties to which he has constantly been ministering are taken away; when all his pleasures, all his pursuits are gone, and all the conditions of his new estate are, through his own guilt, strange, unwelcome, and repugnant. Herein is his new discipline, from which, as from all discipline in this age, it is shewn in the early chapters of the volume that we have the warrant of God's word for believing that redemption will come, that in the end, be the ages of discipline ever so extended, the strength of sin shall not gain the victory over the love of God for man.

J. RAWSON LUMBY.

THE GREEK TESTAMENT. Hebraistic Edition. *By William Henry Guillemard, D.D.* This is the first instalment of a work implying both much learning and labour. As its author informs us in a very modest but instructive preface, his object is "to shew the LXX. thread running through all the web" of the New Testament. And again he says, "My main object being to shew that the Greek text owes its distinguishing characteristics to three causes: (1) Orientalism; (2) The influence of the LXX. or Alexandrian version; (3) Deterioration of style, due either to the Macedonian element in it, or to the *serioris Græcismi innovations*. I have marked the most prominent examples of each as they occur, in order to arrest attention and secure careful examination." He accomplishes this purpose in a very scholarly and satisfactory manner, so far as the First Gospel (the only portion of the work yet published) is concerned. We believe that Dr. Guillemard is decidedly on the right track in seeking to account for the peculiar Greek in which the New Testament is written. That could only have arisen from the fact that the various writers were thoroughly familiar with the LXX., used, indeed, the Greek version as their ordinary Bible, and thus naturally expressed their Hebrew conceptions of spiritual truth in language akin to, or identical with, the diction of the Greek translators of the Old Testament.

Dr. Guillemard's careful and sensible work is well fitted to counteract the influence of the rigid mechanical school, and we trust he will be encouraged to carry it to completion.

A. ROBERTS.

A generation which has forgotten that Science rests on assumptions at least as large and indemonstrable as those on which Religion stands, and much more unreasonable, and that it demands faith in miracles still more unverifiable and "incredible," will do well to read *Professor Blackie's* wonderfully vital and lively little book, *THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ATHEISM* (Daldy, Isbister, and Co.). Not that he elaborates any new and formal disproof of the atheism to which certain men of science are just now prone. Here and there, indeed, he does reason, and reason very ably and cogently, with them, though always on familiar lines; but, for the most part, he meets these Agnostics, these "know-nothings," who yet affect to know so much and even to prophesy so much, who see in mere phenomena, and even in phenomena mirrored and transformed in the small dark chamber of their own brain, "the promise and the potency" of the realities which underlie phenomena, with little but good-humoured laughter, and banter on their grotesque solution of the vast and mysterious problem of the universe—"unavoidable effects from unexplained causes:" probably the best way of meeting men who strut so boldly, and so far, beyond their proper confines. For the more philosophic atheists, from Buddha down to John Stuart Mill, who take the ultimate facts of consciousness as well as certain nerve-motions and brain-changes into account, and are perplexed by their contradictory aspects and voices, he has more respect. He gives a fair account of them and of their systems—indeed, his account of Buddha and Buddhism is by far the best brief account in our language, given with most force and insight—and meets them with arguments of great and overpowering weight. His final Chapter on "the Atheism of Reaction," *i.e.*, the atheism which is mainly a reaction from the harsh, crude, and unreasoned statements of Christian doctrine which are in vogue in certain sections of the Church, is one which all teachers of the Christian Faith will do well to ponder and lay to heart. Here, no doubt, some of his vigorous sentences need to be slightly qualified; but we can supply the necessary qualifications for ourselves, and should feel nothing but gratitude for the timely and wholesome warning which the learned and redoubtable Professor has given us.

Equally admirable, in a different way, is *Dr. Madaren's* *WEEK-DAY EVENING ADDRESSES* (Macmillan and Co.). These familiar "talks" with his congregation are quick with spiritual insight and power; and, a special commendation to our readers, they contain many good expository hints.

S. COX.

STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

II.—THE NARRATIVES OF THE BIRTH AND INFANCY.

THE sun while setting in the west often throws upon the eastern heaven a burnished shadow, the reflection of the golden glory in which he dies. So, many an infancy has been transfigured by the light of a great manhood, beautified by the marvellous hues shed back upon it from a splendid character and career. The childhood of Moses was to later Hebrew tradition a childhood of wonder and miracle. Ancient Greece made her heroes sons of the gods, men dear to heaven, for whom the Olympians plotted and schemed, round whom they strenuously fought. The proud fancy of the Roman made Romulus the suckling of the she-wolf; the history of his "eternal city" a history of marvel and miracle, of deeds and events prophetic of universal empire. The fame of the life reflected on the infancy may thus become in a creative imagination the fruitful mother of myths, credible in an age of wonder and childlike faith, incredible in an age of critical and rational thought.

Now, are the stories of Christ's birth and infancy but the luminous and tinted shadows of his marvellous manhood, the creations of intense and exalted dreamers who, bidden by their own fancies, made the child the father of the man? So it has been thought and said. The narratives which describe the coming of Jesus

have been resolved into myths, no more historical than the stories which tell the adventures of the gods of ancient Greece. Yet on the surface one great difference lies, which may have no critical, but has some rational, worth. The Greek mythologies became incredible centuries since, faith in them died out and no man could revive it; but the story of Christ's birth and infancy still remains credible, need not offend the most cultured reason of the most cultured age. *They* were proved, by actual history too, creations of the childlike imagination, credible to the fanciful child, incredible to the rational man; but *it* has been proved, by long and extensive human experience too, to be as fit for belief by the man as by the child, to be capable of vindication before the calm and critical reason. In the presence of rational thought legends die, but truths live, and in their respective fates their respective characters are revealed.

The story of the birth and infancy is told in the First and Third Gospels with a simple grace that excels the most perfect art. Its theme, hardly to be handled without being depraved, is touched with the most exquisite delicacy. The veil where it ought to conceal does not reveal; where it can be lifted, it is lifted softly, and neither torn nor soiled. There is as little trace of a coarse or prurient, as of an inventive or amplifying, faculty. The reticence is much more remarkable than the speech. Indeed, the distinction between history and legend could not be better marked than by the reserve of the canonical and the vulgar tattle of the apocryphal Gospels. These latter are, so far as they concern the birth and infancy, full of grossness and indecency, of rude speech as to things that become

unholy by being handled. But our narratives are pure as the air that floats above the eternal hills; are full, too, of an idyllic sweetness like the breath of summer when it comes laden with the fragrance of garden and field. The lone, lovely, glad, yet care-burdened mother; the holy beautiful Child, bringing such unsearchable wealth of truth and peace to men; the meanness of his birthplace, the greatness of his mission; the heedless busy world unconscious of the new conscious life that has come to change and bless it; the shepherds under the silent stars, watching and watched; the angel-choir, whose song breaks the silence of earth with the music of heaven; the wretched and merciless Herod, growing in cruelty as he grows nearer death, a contrast to the gentle Infant who comes with "peace and good-will towards men;" the Magi, wanderers from the distant East in search of light and hope: and round and through all the presence in angel and dream, in event and word, of the Eternal God who loves the fallen, and begins in humanity a work of salvation and renewal—these, all together, make, when read in the letter but interpreted by the spirit, a matchless picture of earthly beauty and pathos illumined and sublimed by heavenly love. Whatever fate criticism may have in store for our narrative, it must ever remain a vehicle of holy thoughts to every mind that lies open to the spiritual and divine.

The narratives of the Birth and Infancy may be studied either on their critical and historical, or their ideal and intellectual, side. If on the first, the questions mainly concern their authenticity and trustworthiness; if on the second, the questions chiefly relate to their interpretation and significance. But while the two

classes of questions are distinct, they yet interpenetrate. If the critical and historical questions are answered in a way adverse to the authenticity and credibility of the narratives, then they must be regarded as legendary, and explained as creations of a more or less childlike imagination. If, on the other hand, the ideal and intellectual questions can be so answered as to satisfy the reason, the answer may have considerable critical worth. It ought to shew, at least, that the narratives need not be rejected *a priori* as contra-rational, that they speak of matters the intellect can conceive and believe. It ought to shew, too, that they are not explicable like ordinary legends, cannot be explained by the normal action of the mythical faculty, are due to other psychological factors than those that have produced the myths of the world's childhood. If so much can be shewn, the objections taken *in limine* to these narratives must lose much of their power. It is the purpose of this paper to deal with the phase of the subject last indicated, to endeavour to discover the psychological roots of the narratives, though within our limits but little can be done to determine at once their critical and intellectual worth.

The narratives of the Birth and Infancy are peculiar to our First and Third Gospels, and they stand in each with agreements and differences that are alike significant. In Matthew the Jewish, in Luke the Gentile, standpoint and purpose are apparent. Their influence is seen (1) in the genealogies. Matthew traces the descent of Jesus Christ, "the son of David, the son of Abraham;" but Luke ascends higher, makes Jesus "the son of Adam, who was the son of God." The difference is significant. Matthew the Hebrew, ad-

addressing Hebrews, presents Jesus as the Messiah, complying with the conditions necessary to the Messiahship that He may be qualified to fulfil the Messianic hopes. But Luke the Greek, addressing Greeks, presents Jesus in his common brotherhood to man and native sonship to God. In the one case He is incorporated with Israel, in the other with humanity. Both standpoints were universal, but with a difference. Matthew regarded Israel as a people existing for the world, their mission culminating in their Messiah, who, while of particular descent, was of universal significance ; but Luke regarded the race that had grown from Adam as blossoming into Christ, who, while the flower of the old, was the seed of the new humanity. Matthew's genealogy is the vehicle of Prophetic, but Luke's of Pauline ideas. The first represents Christ as a redeemer of Abrahamic, a king of Davidic descent, appearing to fulfil the aspirations of the ancient people, and realize the theocratic ideal ; but the second exhibits Him as through his descent from Adam the blood-relation, as it were, of every man, appearing that He may create in every man a no less real and intimate spiritual relation with God. And so while Jesus is to Matthew the Messiah, He is to Luke the Second Adam, the Creator and Head of the new humanity, sustaining universal relations and accomplishing an universal work.

(2) In their modes of conceiving and representing the Child Jesus. Both, indeed, know but the one cause of the Child's coming, the creative action of the Spirit of God. Matthew says, with significant modesty, Mary "was found with child by the Holy Ghost ;" while Luke, with greater fulness but equal purity, says, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the

Highest shall overshadow thee." It is possible that theologians have here personalized too much. The phrase "Spirit of God" often in the Old Testament denotes the Divine creative energy, the might of God, active and exercised, whether in the making and maintaining of the world, or the forming and direction of man. And so our Evangelists agree in representing Christ as the child of the Divine creative energy, find the cause of his becoming and birth in the action of God. But the agreement here gives point to the differences elsewhere. Matthew, true to his Jewish standpoint and purpose, finds the birth to be the fulfilment of a prophecy, and not satisfied with explaining the name Jesus in the sense Israel loved, describes and denotes Him by the prophetic title Emmanuel. But Luke, while he invokes no prophet or prophecy, and supplies no special interpretation of the name, significantly denotes the Child Mary is to bear as "the Son of God." The former is here true to the spirit and thought of Israel, but the latter to the theology of Paul. Luke had learned to read the Christian facts in the light of his master's ideas. The Divine Sonship of Christ was the foundation of the Pauline theology, and is here made the starting-point of the evangelical history that represents and embodies it. To the pupil as to the teacher the Second Adam could accomplish this work only as He was "the Son of the Highest."

(3) In the narratives of the Infancy, Matthew never forgets the kingdom of his Messiah—the theocratic character of his mission. The Magi come from the East in search of Him "that is born king of the Jews;" their act is an act of fealty, of homage to rightful royalty. What Herod fears in the Child is a rival—a king of the

ancient stock with claims he and his could not withstand. But though it is said that Christ "shall reign over the house of Jacob, and of his kingdom there shall be no end," Luke in his narrative hardly finds a place for the theocratic idea. The Child is set at once in his universal relations, a Saviour "to all people," "a light to lighten the Gentiles," "the dayspring from on high" risen "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death." The standpoint is throughout Pauline. The advent that is celebrated is the advent, not of a theocratic king, but of a Redeemer whose work is universal, who is essentially related, on the one hand to God as a Son, on the other to man as a Brother.

But while the Evangelists remain true to their respective standpoints and purposes, their narratives prove that they could transcend both. The one happily indicates the universalism of the ancient faith, the other the historical relations and reverence of the new. The Hebrew makes the heathen Magi the first to worship the newborn King; the Greek shows the beautiful love alike of parents and Child to the law, the temple, and the customs of the Fathers. In Matthew the Gentile comes from the East to claim his right to sit with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God, and his right is as finely expressed as divinely recognized. In Luke the aged representative of the faith and hope of the past stands up in the temple to acknowledge the advent and proclaim the work of a Redeemer. And so each Evangelist in his own way approves the standpoint and ratifies the purpose of the other. Their differences are not disagreements, but means by which the varied phases of a history of universal and enduring import may be exhibited.

But now we must advance from what is formal to what is material in the narratives. What is cardinal to each is common to both—the Child that is born of Mary is the Son of God, the fruit of the overshadowing “of the Most High.” Agreement on this point is not peculiar to our First and Third Gospels, but to the New Testament books as a whole. Though the detailed narratives are peculiar to the former, allusions to the real and ideal elements in the birth of Christ are common to the latter. Paul could speak of Him as “born of a woman,” “of the seed of David according to the flesh.” Even the Fourth Gospel is most explicit in its recognition of his natural birth. In it his mother asserted her maternity, and He, in the most solemn moment of his life, confesses his sonship. Philip says to Nathanael, “We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.” The people of Capernaum are made to inquire, “Is not this the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?” and in Mark we have the similar inquiry, “Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?” But alongside this recognition of the real and material birth stands the common confession of a higher and diviner being. The birth, but not the parentage, is human. While born of Mary, He is the Son of God. The Fourth Evangelist conceives the coming of Christ as the becoming incarnate of the Divine and Eternal Word; while Paul in many a form expresses and emphasizes his belief in a Christ who, “being in the form of God, did not think equality with God a thing to be snatched at, but emptied himself by taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men.” Now, as the ideal Gospel, as

well as the doctrinal Epistles, everywhere imply the human birth, and often refer to it, the narratives which describe this birth more than imply the theory of his higher nature and relations developed in that Gospel and these Epistles. What is intellectually presented in the latter is historically exhibited in the former, and what we have to explain is, how men with the passions and prejudices, with the inherited tendencies and beliefs of Jews, could come to believe in what can only be described as an incarnation of Deity. The problem is one of deep and varied interest. The first Christians were Hebrews, their leaders men of intensely Hebraic natures; yet their fundamental and most distinctive doctrine was one profoundly offensive to the Hebrew mind and faith. The problem is, How did they come to entertain it? which is but another form of our already indicated question as to the psychological roots of the belief embodied in the narratives of Christ's birth and infancy.

Can our narratives be explained through the Hindu mythologies? Can they be traced to similar psychical roots? Can they be resolved into creations of the mytho-poetic faculty? Hindu mythology is an enormous growth, extending over many thousand years, and so far too immense and complicated to be compared with our short and simple narratives. All that can be done is to compare them where they seem to embody similar ideas, and discover whether the psychological explanation possible in the one case is possible in the other. Well, then, the idea of the incarnation of Deity is familiar to Hindu mythology. Brahmanism knows it, and so, in a sense, does Buddhism. Divine appearances or manifestations are common in the former system: incarna-

tions of Buddha are frequent in the latter. But as Buddhism is nominally, though not really, atheistic, it wants one of the terms most essential for comparison, and so for our present purpose had better be dropped out of account.

The affinity of the Hindu and Christian ideas of incarnation has often been asserted, and the derivation, now of the Christian from the Hindu, and again of the Hindu from the Christian, has been confidently affirmed. Only a few years since a German scholar endeavoured to prove traces of Christian ideas both in the theology and ethics of the Bhagavad-gîtâ; and the influence of the Orient in the schools of the apostolic and post-apostolic age is a commonplace of historical inquiry. But these inquiries have been due to affinities that are only apparent, that mask, indeed, the most radical antitheses. (1) The idea of incarnation is essentially different. In the Hindu system incarnations are many and frequent, but in the Christian there is but one. In the former they are transitory and occasional; in the latter it is permanent and providential, necessary to produce the well-being of man and accomplish the ends of God. The Hindu incarnations are often monstrous forms, effected to perform with immoral violence works that can hardly be called moral; but the Christian incarnation is human, rational, the moral means of achieving the greatest possible moral work. Multiplicity is essential to the first, but unity to the second. Unity would be fatal to the ideas expressed by the former, but multitude to those represented by the latter. Were the Hindu incarnation conceived as happening but once it would lose its essential character; to conceive the Christian as happening oftener would be to abolish it. But (2) the

Hindu and Christian incarnations express and repose on essentially different ideas of God. In India the belief in incarnation is the logical and necessary result of the belief in God. To the Hindu God is no person, but the universal life, the inexhaustible energy that, unhasting, unresting, creates every change and exists in every mode and in all forms of being. As the particles that make up the water-drop may roll in the ocean, float in the vapour, sail in the cloud, fall in the rain, shine in the dew, circulate in the plant, and return into the ocean again, remaining in all their apparent changes essentially unchanged, so the universal energy or life that is termed God assumes the infinite variety of forms that constitutes the world of appearances. But the Hebrew did not so conceive God. His Deity was a conscious Mind, a voluntary Power, the living Maker and righteous Ruler of nature and man. He was never confounded with the world or its life; He stood infinitely above both, the cause of their changes, not their subject. The Hindu could not separate, the Hebrew could not identify, God and nature. Incarnation was the logical correlate of the Hindu, but the logical contradiction of the Hebrew, idea of God. The one reached it by the simple process of logical evolution, unconsciously performed; but the other could reach it only by a violent logical revolution. It was a native growth of the Hindu mind, especially as Brahmanism had made it; but it was utterly alien to the Hebrew mind, especially as it had been educated and possessed by Judaism. The law of natural mental development explains the rise of the belief in incarnations in India, but it cannot explain what so manifestly contradicts it as the rise of the belief in the Incarnation in Judæa.

Can our narratives be explained through the Greek mythology? Can the psychological laws exemplified by the latter be applied to the former? The Greek mythology, while it had started from the same point as the Hindu, had yet had a very different development. The ideas it ultimately embodied were almost as unlike the distinctive ideas of the Hindus as of the Hebrews. It knew, indeed, many gods and sons of the gods, but in these the idea of incarnation was in no proper sense expressed. Gods and men were to the Greek alike created beings. They were akin, of a kind, and stood so near each other that the god was but a magnified man, the man a reduced god. The god lived a sort of corporate existence, needed food and drink; was immortal, not in his own right, but by virtue of the peculiar qualities of the things he ate and drank; was, too, a husband and father, capable of sustaining the same relations as man, of feeling and indulging the same passions. We can say, then, in a sense, that every Greek deity was incarnate, none lived an unembodied spiritual life. But incarnation so universalized ceases to have any significance; it belongs to the idea of deity, not to his acts; is a necessary quality of his essence, not a state voluntarily assumed. Where God is so conceived, Divine Sonship becomes as natural and proper to Him as to man. Belief in it is a logical necessity. Men feel that without it their notion of deity would remain inconsistent and incomplete. And so the theogonic myths, so far from offending, pleased and satisfied the early Greek mind, seemed to it a native and integral element of the conception of God. But the Hebrew, who conceived God as spiritual, invisible, lifted above every creature, every-

thing creaturely, filling eternity, filling immensity, could not while his old idea stood conceive Him as becoming incarnate, or as sustaining the relation of a Father to a Divine yet human Son. Into the latter conception elements entered so abhorrent to the former that the one could live only by the death of the other. The conditions that allow the old and the new to be affiliated as parent and child are here absent.

The belief, then, embodied in our narratives was not a natural product of Judaism, and cannot be explained by any normal evolution of thought within it. Yet the men who made and first held it were Jews, and their two most creative personalities were men of intensely Hebraic natures. Paul was a strong type of the scholastic Jew, the man trained in the methods, skilled in the dialectic of the schools; Peter was a thorough representative of the unlettered class, stalwart, robust in mind, faithful to ideas and duties consecrated by ancient custom, not very open in eye and heart to new lights and loves. Paul was possessed by the prejudices of the school, Peter by the prejudices of the people; and in the various orders of prejudices these may claim to rank as the most invincible. And if anything could have heightened the native Jewish aversion to the ideas of Divine Sonship and Incarnation, it must have been the life and death of Christ. The men who had known Him, who had seen his poverty, who had watched his sufferings, who had witnessed the agony and impotence of his tragic end, must have had these so woven into their very idea of Him, that He and they could never be conceived as dissociated or apart. Yet this was the very person they were to conceive as the Son of their awful and eternal God, as the manifestation in the

flesh of their Almighty Maker and Lord of men. It is impossible that any imagination possessed by the Jewish conception of God, and filled by the recollection of the poverty, suffering, and crucifixion of Christ, could have ever placed that God and this Christ in the relations expressed by the terms Sonship and Incarnation.

The men, then, did not pass by an easy and natural transition from their old to their new belief. They were, we might almost say, driven to the new in spite of the old, and the forces that drove them were revolutionary. There occurred a great and creative change in their conception of God. The God of the Jews was eternal, almighty, august, yet He was the God of the Jews only, loved them, loved no other people. But the God the disciples came to know through Jesus Christ was the God of men, a Being of universal benevolence, of love that embraced the world and sought its good. He pitied like a Father, was a Father, and every man was his child. But this new conception seemed to involve two great consequences, the first as to the nature of God, the second as to his relations to man. As to the first, it was seen that He could not be essential and eternal love and be essentially or have been eternally solitary. Love is a social affection, and is impossible without society. Love of self is selfishness, and so it was necessary to conceive a God who is love and loves as having another than Himself who stood over against Himself, made society, received and reciprocated his affection. An object is as necessary to love as a subject, and so Divine love is possible only where there is Divine society; in other words, there can be no eternal Father unless there be an eternal Son, his mirror and reflection. But God so conceived ceases to be the

barren and abstract God of Judaism, becomes the living Father in heaven, in whom, through Jesus Christ, we believe, and to whom He taught us to pray. And so from the first a second consequence followed—the Divine relation to man was conceived in a grander and sweeter and more perfect way. Man was God's child, owed Him a child's obedience and love; was true to the Divine idea of his nature only as he gave to its Giver what was his due. His relation to God did not depend on his descent from a particular patriarch: everywhere and always he stood by obedience, fell by disobedience; but even after and from his fall he could be saved by the grace, which meant the love, of God. And as He loved all, He loved to see none perish, to see all saved. He could do nothing else and nothing less, his nature being love. But since it was so He could not refuse sympathy, could not deny sacrifice, when by these alone men could be reached and saved. And so out of the new thought of God which came by Jesus Christ there issued by natural and necessary growth the belief in the only begotten Son in the bosom of the Father, who had come forth to declare Him. The relations of God to his world were the copy and counterpart of relations immanent and essential to God Himself; and the love in God to God which we express by the terms Father and Son became at once the source and image of the love expressed to man by the facts of incarnation and sacrifice.

The change thus effected in the fundamental conception of the disciples made its presence felt everywhere. It set the person, the life, the death of Jesus in a new light—created as to Him an order of ideas that can be understood only when the prologue to the

Fourth Gospel is made to underlie the opening narratives of the First and Third. It set Him, too, in a new relation to man, made Him the centre and head of humanity, to whom the past centuries had pointed, from whom the coming centuries were to flow. His appearance was no accident, no Divine chance, the more miraculous the less designed; but the fulfilment of a gracious Divine purpose, or rather a sublime Divine necessity, which was yet but the means to highest Divine ends. And so the new faith was at once transforming and transfiguring, made the poverty of Christ the wealth of the world, the humiliation of the Son the condition of glorifying the Father, and his death the power of God unto our salvation.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

IV.—THE SECOND COLLOQUY. (CHAPTERS XV.—XXI.)

3.—BILDAD TO JOB (CHAPTER XVIII.).

I HAVE already described Bildad¹ as a man of less originality and more "temper" than Eliphaz. "A much lesser man every way, with a much more contracted range of thought and sympathy, he deals in proverbs and citations, and takes a severer and more personal tone." That description of him is fully borne out, as indeed it was in part suggested by, the Speech he now delivers. Throughout it he does but copy and reproduce, in colours still more glowing and austere, the terrible and impressive picture of the wicked man and his doom which Eliphaz had drawn in Chapter xv.

¹ THE EXPOSITOR, vol. iv. p. 174.

Like Eliphaz, he depicts the sinner as wandering for his brief day amid snares, haunted by the terrors of an evil conscience, and then sinking into a premature and dishonourable tomb. Not only does he take his *motif* from Eliphaz; he imitates his very manner, reproduces some of his very touches. If Eliphaz condemns the sinner for dwelling in houses "ordained to be ruins," doomed to desolation by the curse of God, Bildad describes his home as under the selfsame doom (Verses 14 and 15), as consumed by "brimstone," like the cities of the Plain. If Eliphaz gives us a long chain of citations from the Arab "fathers," Bildad repairs for wisdom and authority to the selfsame source—this brief Chapter containing at least a dozen allusions¹ to the gathered and priceless wisdom of the Arabian sages. When he quits this ancient and moss-grown fountain, his habit of citation still clings to him, and he quotes three or four sentences from Job himself, wresting them to his own purpose as he quotes them, and once at least he snatches a few words that will serve his turn from Eliphaz. Nay, so profoundly is his mind imbued with this proverbial lore, so deeply is it tinctured with the element it has long wrought in, that even when he is most himself his own style is polished, sententious, concise—the true *chokma* style; so that he makes proverbs when he cites none.

And as for his severity, if Zophar is now and then more blunt and passionate, there is nothing in the whole Poem more severe than Bildad's veiled allusions to Job's character and condition. They are the more severe because of the art which veils them under "a rich drapery of diversified figures," which lingers over

¹ See Commentary on Verses 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20.

them to polish and elaborate and give them a keener edge. That some of the strokes in his portrait of the wicked man *are* taken from the person and history of Job, is beyond doubt. What, for instance, can "that firstborn of death" (Verses 13, 14), who is to hand him over to "the king of terrors," be but that most cruel and fatal of diseases, the *elephantiasis*, by which the limbs of Job's body were being devoured? And how can we fail to see in the "brimstone" of Verse 15 an allusion to the fire which, falling from heaven, had burned up the flocks of Job and the young men who kept them? Who is the tree of Verse 16, if not Job, whose branches, the children now lost to him, had already been lopped off, and whose root, his own wasted existence, was even now being dried up? And, again, who is he whose wealth, offspring, name, and memory are to be destroyed from the face of the earth as a warning to posterity (Verses 17-20), if not still Job, on whom that dreadful doom had already in great part fallen? Under his dismal and forbidding picture, as if his meaning were not plain enough already, Bildad writes, "This is the doom of him that knoweth not God,"—implying that now and henceforth he regards Job as one to whom the Almighty was unknown.

We have, it is true, to elicit these allusions; but, when once they have been pointed out, no one fails to recognize them, or doubts that Bildad is "confronting" Job "with self-comparisons." And when we remember that Job was the *friend* of Bildad, when we recall the horrible pain and shame and misery with which he was overwhelmed, we cannot but say of one who could look on his agony with "no compunctious visitings of nature," who could assail him in his utmost misery

with reproach on reproach, and who could even pause to point and polish and barb his reproaches, that they might inflict a sharper and more dangerous wound, that, like Macbeth, "*He wants the natural touch;*" for, obviously, he loves his wit and his proverbs more than his friend.

I have said¹ that in this Second Colloquy all the Friends are harder and more bitter than in the First; and that is quite as true of Bildad as it is of Eliphaz, as we may see by comparing this Speech with his previous one. In Chapter viii., as in this Chapter, he begins by complaining of the length and wildness of Job's utterances, as was not unnatural perhaps in a man who was himself studious of brevity and a sententious neatness. In *that* he paints the character and fate of the wicked in the most approved colours of Egyptian antiquity, as in *this* he paints them in colours drawn from Arabian antiquity. But there the resemblance ends. For his first speech is full of relenting, full of pressing invitations to Job to repent, full of assurances that God would yet be his Friend and Deliverer; and it closes with the cheerful and kindly affirmation that, because God would not "spurn the perfect, nor take evildoers by the hand," Job's mouth should yet be filled with laughter and his lips with song, while his enemies, clothed with shame, should utterly perish from the earth. But, now, instead of setting forth the justice of God, he simply threatens Job with his vengeance; instead of inviting him to repentance and amendment, he offers him no prospect of escape; instead of assuming that Job is "among the perfect," he denounces him as one who knows not God, and whom God and

¹ THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vii. pp. 2, 3.

man will combine to "hunt out of the world." In fine, he here predicts for Job himself the very doom and end which in his first speech he had assigned to the enemies of Job.

There are two other, but minor, peculiarities in Bildad's carefully composed oration which need to be indicated. We might almost call it "the *Net* speech," in order to distinguish it from others; for in Verses 7-10 we have one of those simple feats of skill of which I have already pointed out several—simple to us, and yet so wonderful and delightful to men to whom the literary art is comparatively new. There is probably an allusion to "nets" and "toils," and kindred methods of snaring game, in the very first words Bildad utters. But in *these* Verses the Poet brings together all, or nearly all, the Hebrew names for the various kinds of nets and traps, just as in Chapter iv. Verses 10, 11, he collects all the Hebrew names for the lion, just as in Chapter x. Verses 21, 22, he collects most of the Hebrew words for darkness, within the narrow compass of a single sentence.

The other peculiarity in this Speech is that, though Bildad is addressing Job only, he addressès him in the plural, not in the singular, opening even with the question, "How long will *you* hunt for words?" not, "How long wilt *thou*?" And this is a peculiarity which has given rise to much discussion, and to some differences of opinion. The real motive for it I take to be that Bildad is here sarcastically replying to a sarcasm of Job's, and rebutting a claim which Job had advanced by ironically admitting it. Job had jibed (Chap. xii. 2) at the pretension of the Friends to speak in the name of the human race, and as though they held a mono-

poly of wisdom. He had also identified himself (Chap. xvii. 8, 9) with the upright and purehanded throughout all the world. Bildad had taken both the jibe and the claim amiss; and therefore he now uses the plural instead of the singular, *as though he were addressing in Job the whole body with whom Job had identified himself*, and to rebuke him for having puffed himself up until he had mistaken himself for the whole company of the righteous.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. *Then answered Bildad the Shuchite and said :*
2. *How long will you hunt for words ?*
 Consider, and afterward let us speak.
3. *Wherefore are we accounted as the brute,*
 And held insensate in your eyes ?
4. *O thou that rendest thyself in thine anger,*
 Must the earth for thy sake be desolated,
 And the rock be removed out of its place ?
5. *Nevertheless, the lamp of the wicked shall be put out,*
 And the flame of his fire shall not shine ;
6. *The light shall darken in his tent,*
 And the lamp that is over him shall be put out ;
7. *The strides of his strength shall be straightened ;*
 And his own counsel shall cast him down ;
8. *For his own feet shall thrust him into a net,*
 And he shall walk of himself into the toils ;
9. *A trap shall catch him by the heel,*
 And a noose shall hold him fast ;
10. *Its cord is hidden in the ground,*
 And its mesh on the path :
11. *Terrors shall affright him on every side,*
 They shall dog his footsteps ;
12. *His strength shall be hunger-bitten,*
 And destruction lie in wait at his side ;
13. *The first-born of death shall devour the bars of his skin,*
 The limbs of his body shall it devour ;
14. *He shall be torn from the shelter of his tent,*
 And be led away to the king of terrors ;

15. *They shall tenant the tent no longer his ;
Brimstone shall be sprinkled on his homestead :*
16. *His roots beneath shall be dried up,
And his branch be lopped off above ;*
17. *All memory of him shall perish from the land,
And he shall have no name in the street ;*
18. *He shall be thrust from light into darkness,
And hunted out of the world ;*
19. *He shall have neither offshoot nor offspring among his people,
Nor any survivor in the place where he sojourned ;*
20. *Posterity shall be astonished at his day,
As they that went before were amazed.*
21. *Such are the dwellings of the wicked,
And this the doom of him that knew not God.*

Verses 2 and 3.—Job had commenced his reply to Eliphaz (Chap. xvi. 3) by impatiently demanding, “Shall there never be an end to windy words?” and now Bildad retorts upon him, “How long will *you* hunt for words?” and bids him consider,

And let your reason with your choler question
What 'tis you go about.

What it is that Job goes about, or intends, in so far as the Friends are concerned, is quite plain to Bildad. In his intemperance, his arrogant assumption of superiority, he would fain reduce them to the level of mere dumb cattle without discourse of reason. And so Bildad virtually exclaims and advises :—

What, are you chafed?
Ask God for temperance ; that's the appliance only
Which your disease requires.

Some allowance must be made for the irritation with which Bildad rebukes the irritation of Job. It must be admitted that, though not without reason as well as provocation, Job had said much which it was hard for the Friends to bear. “Miserable comforters !” he had

called them (Chap. xvi. 2). God, he complained (Chap. xvi. 11), not without at least an oblique thrust at them, had "flung him over into the hands of the wicked;" He had "shut their heart against understanding" (Chap. xvii. 4), so that it were impossible to "find a wise man among them" (Chap. xvii. 10). "With himself at war," he had forgotten "the shows of love to other men." But, none the less, all this must have been very hard for the Friends to bear, especially hard perhaps for Bildad, who piqued himself on his wisdom, who was very conscious that he had the most venerable authorities on his side, and was firmly convinced that it was Job, and not he himself, who was devoid of understanding. Evidently, the sarcasms of Job rankled in his spirit, and he was bent on punishing him for them,—as, indeed, he begins to do already by charging him with *hunting* after mere words, or with weaving tangled and interminable *nets of words*: accusing him, that is, of attempting to entrap his Friends and blind them to his guilt by the subtle and insincere phrases which he spun together in his defence, and spun out till all the world was weary of them. This is the best, as it is the only, excuse we can make for the fierce but controlled passion which set Bildad brooding over his retort, and carefully shaping and pointing the cruel and sarcastic allusions with which it was barbed.

Verse 4.—Job was much more like a wild beast than they were; for though he had charged God with tearing and rending him (Chap. xvi. 9), it was he himself who was rending himself in pieces by his passionate struggles against his fate. But, let him struggle as he would, though he might and must injure himself, for

Those wounds heal ill that men do give themselves,

yet what could he hope to do against God? Was the earth to be desolated, and the rock removed, for his sake? The desolation of the earth is a figure for the withdrawal of law and order from the world, and the removal of the firm massive rock, for the overthrow of the fixed eternal methods of the Divine government and justice. And this *παραβολή* is closely akin to such Arabian proverbs as these: "The world will not come to an end for his sake," and "The world does not exist for one man." The question really means, in general, Can you hope by any violence, by the most passionate struggles and appeals, to break away from the law and order of the universe, to disturb the natural course and even flow of the Divine Providence, and compel it to your mind? No doubt, the law which Bildad had specially in view was the law of retribution, and the particular scope and intent of his demand was: Are you, Job, being guilty, to be treated as though you were innocent? Must God, to meet your caprice, repeal the very law of his providence, and turn back, or cleave in sunder, the natural sequences of cause and effect?

In *Verses* 5 and 6 Bildad answers his own question by asserting the invariability of that law. *Nevertheless*—in spite of all your doubts and struggles and outcries—it remains and must for ever remain true that the lamp of the wicked is put out, and the fire on his hearth expires. Both these figures are common in the most ancient poetry of the Arabs—even to this day, indeed, an afflicted Arab will say, "Fate has put out my lamp"—and were probably drawn from that source. There is a touch of pathos in these homely images, the bright household lamp going out and the cheerful fire wasting till the hearth is cold, which we find nowhere else

throughout this speech. And the pathos deepens as we remember that the dying lamp and the waning fire are but symbols of the sinner's fate, of his destruction. The unwonted touch of pathos in the figures, no less than the figures themselves, can hardly fail to remind us of that wonderful line in Othello, where the Moor, when about to slay the sleeping Desdemona, extinguishes the taper that burns at her side, saying,

Put out the light, *and then—put out the light,—*

first, put out the light of the taper, and, then, put out the light of life.

Verse 7 contains yet another Arab touch. The metaphor of the clause, "The strides of his strength," or, his mighty strides, "are straightened," is to be found in the Arabian proverb, "If a man keep not within the limits of his powers, his wide steps shall be straightened." Translated into plain prose, the meaning of the metaphor is that, whereas the sinner, in the brief hour of his prosperity, moves with freedom and confidence, framing large schemes, attacking vast enterprizes, with the assurance of a man confident of success because he has often, as it were, covered broad spaces with a single stride; yet no sooner does trouble come upon him, no sooner does he fail to reach his ends, no sooner do men confront and thwart him, than his insolent self-assurance forsakes him, and he creeps on his way with timid and embarrassed feet, uncertain of himself, a traitor to his own hopes.

But by far the more weighty thought of this Verse is contained in the second clause, which declares that it is his own "counsel," *i.e.*, his own *character*, which unmans and ruins him, his own conscience which makes

a coward of him. He fails and perishes not because any judgment is arbitrarily tacked on to his sin; the judgment is the natural and inevitable consequence of his sin, the fair and proper issue of the course he has chosen for himself. It is not for him to upbraid high Heaven, but to censure and condemn himself for being what he has made himself. It is by his bold and wilful transgression of the plain laws by which human life is ruled that he is "cast down."

And this weighty thought is elaborated with unusual care in *Verses 8-11*, in which, as I have said, most of the Hebrew words for "nets" and "snares" are crowded into a narrow space. By his own confident and careless transgression of Divine laws the sinner has fallen into a path thick with traps, some hidden in the ground, some lying on its very surface; and, being in, he pushes on till some of them seize him in a fierce and desperate clutch. In plain words, while the righteous man, walking by rule and law, may walk in light and safety even in this dim world, the world is so formed, and the relationships of human life and society are so constituted, as to be full of temptation, and therefore full of danger, to the self-reliant transgressor who, heedless of those laws, walks at his own will. To him temptations present themselves at every turn. Where the righteous find only incentives to duty, or a summons to self-discipline, *he* finds incentives to violations of duty and an opportunity of self-indulgence. Such men often blame their circumstances, their conditions, or some power of evil external to themselves; but it is they themselves who are to blame. It is *their own* counsel which casts them down, *their own* feet that thrust them into the

net; they walk *of themselves* into the toils. They need no devil to tempt them; for

we are devils to ourselves
When we *will* tempt the frailty of our powers,
Presuming on their changeful potency.

A lawless self-love and self-confidence are a sufficient cause of ruin; and where these are present we need seek no other.

Verse 11.—For a time a man may walk on his self-chosen and lawless path unconscious of the perils he affronts; but at last there comes an hour when he awakes to his true condition, when “the multiplying villanies of” his “nature do swarm upon him,” and he sees the dark array of terrors and retributions closing in upon him from every side and dogging his every step. The evil he has done cannot be recalled; and now its consequences must be met—consequences which often look even more terrible than they are. The thoughtless security, the careless self-confidence with which men do evil, and the horrible and paralyzing dread which falls on them when they find themselves compassed about with the results of the evil they have done, and the torture they suffer from “thick-coming fancies which will not let them rest,” are very finely and solemnly depicted in Bildad’s oration. As we read it we can see the sinner, who once strode along “the primrose path” with so bold and defiant an air, now that he has been revealed to himself, creeping along through dark and pathless shades strewn with traps and snares, starting at the fall of every leaf, peopling the darkness with spectres, often pausing to listen, and crouching down in the vain hope of escaping

the visible and invisible perils to which he is exposed. At last he knows himself as he is.

Who then shall blame
His pester'd senses to recoil and start,
*When all that is within him does condemn
Itself for being there ?*

The final line of this Verse is strikingly and pathetically picturesque—"Terrors shall dog his footsteps;" or, more literally perhaps, "*they shall startle him to his feet*"—and shews us the poor hunted creature, beside himself with fear, aroused to further efforts at impossible escape, either when he crouches down to evade the pursuit of his haunting terrors, or when, worn out and exhausted, he lies down to snatch a brief and troubled repose.

Verse 12.—Exhausted by hunger, he slowly creeps on his way, the dark spectre of destruction moving with him, and ever quickening new terrors within him. This description of the overwhelming effect of terror is essentially Arabic. Men *have* died of fright even in England, I suppose; but it is a curious psychological fact that the Arabs, who are as brave as Englishmen, are *often* unmanned by it, insomuch that they refuse to stir a finger in self-defence, though, if they would but rouse themselves, they might easily surmount the danger which threatens them. As Bildad had a name for this fatal disorder (*ra'b*), so have they (*wahm*). And if they are seized by this *wahm*, *i.e.*, if the idea of some imminent and inevitable danger, or misfortune, once enters their minds, they utterly break down, and often expire before the blow falls. Consul Wetzstein assures us that he has himself seen men die of it.

Verse 13.—From this point onward Bildad grows

more sharp and personal in his tone. Though his description is still couched in general terms, he takes many traits of the wicked man he is painting from the person and lot of Job. We have the first of these distinctly personal touches in this somewhat obscure Verse. According to Semitic usage diseases are conceived to be the *children* of death. Job's leprosy, as the most painful and terrible of them all, is called "*the firstborn* of death," just as to this day the Arabs call a deadly fever "the daughter of fate." And this leprosy, this primate among diseases, is described, in a peculiar phrase, as "devouring *the bars* of his skin." The word here rendered "bars" is that which in Chapter xvii. 16 is translated "gates;" and it may be used as a poetical metaphor for the muscles, which are to the skin what bars are to a gate; or perhaps the word "gates" should be retained, and taken to indicate those passages and orifices, those inlets and outlets, of the body at which many forms of disease first display their presence and power. But in either case there can be little doubt that by "the firstborn of death" Bildad intends to denote the *elephantiasis* by which Job's body was being devoured. There can be no doubt that his poetic and indirect way of mentioning that disease is another of those Arab touches of which we have already met so many in this Chapter. The Arabs still shrink from openly naming it: instead of saying "leprosy," they employ some polite periphrasis, partly from a wish not to appear coarse and rude of speech, and partly from a superstitious dread that, if they name it openly, they may incur it, that they will offend some mysterious power which both can and will inflict it on them.

Verse 14.—At last, after suffering many things at the hand of many terrors, the once bold but now trembling sinner is torn from his tent, to be led by “the firstborn of death” to death himself, his “terrors” giving place to “the king of terrors.” It is not for him, after having lived out “the lease of nature,” to

Pay his breath to time and mortal custom :

he is doomed to a premature and violent end.

Verse 15.—Who the “*they*” are who are to tenant the tent from which the sinner has been torn out, it is almost impossible to decide. I am disposed to think, with Gesenius, that they are “the terrors” of the previous Verse. But other scholars read “*it*” for “*they*,” and find the antecedent of the pronoun in “the first-born of death ;” while still others read “*What does not belong to him* shall dwell in his tent,” and interpret this “what does not belong to him” to mean “aliens and strange men,” or “jackals and other foul creatures,” or even “nettles and other weeds.” But, whatever reading or rendering we adopt, the meaning of the phrase is that the tent of the doomed sinner is to be abandoned to desolation, to be regarded with horror as under a curse or ban. And this thought is strengthened and confirmed by the next line, “*Brimstone* shall be sprinkled (or rained) on his homestead ;” since here a curse like that which destroyed the doomed cities of the Plain, a fire like that which had consumed Job’s own flocks and shepherds, is described as descending not only on the tent, but on all that pertained to it, the entire “homestead.” Another Arab touch ; for Wetzstein tells us that to the wandering Arab, although his hair-tent leaves no mark on the desert, the thought

of the utter dissolution of his house, of the final extinction of his hearth, is so terrible as to induce a settled despair.

Verse 16.—The allusion to Job is too clear and obvious to be missed. The sinner was doomed to perish root and branch, himself and his whole family becoming extinct. And Job had already lost his sons and daughters; his branches *had* been lopped off: and were not his roots withering in the ground? was not his life fast wasting away?

All the more cruel, therefore, was the prediction of *Verse 17*, that alike from pasture and from street, from the Arabs of the city and from the Arabs of the wilderness, his very name and memory should perish. For among the Arab races who retain "the religion of Abraham" in any form, no thought is more hideous than that they should die without descendant and without remembrance.

Still more cruel are *Verses 18–20*; for here the sinner, whom Bildad will not name, though *we* can name him easily enough, is not simply to be forgotten: he is to be *hated* by the men of his own generation and by all who should come after them; so hated, that he is to be thrust from light into darkness, and hunted out of a world in which he is unfit to dwell; so hated, and so hateful, that even a distant posterity will look back on him with horror and amazement.

This is the general sense of these Verses, in which Bildad reaches the climax at once of his description and of his severity. And on their details I need only add, that in the phrase (*Verse 19*) "the place where he *sojourned*" there seems a hint that the sinner has no abiding-place, no home, even in this world, but that at

best no more than a brief visit or sojourn in any place is conceded him; that in the phrase (*Verse 20*) "astonished at his *day*" we have a final instance of the Arabian complexion of this Chapter—it being an Arab custom to speak of a man's *doom* as his *day*; and that such scholars as Ewald and Delitzsch prefer to read the 20th Verse thus:—

*Those who dwell in the West are astonished at his day,
And they are amazed who dwell in the East.*

The Verse will bear that rendering, though not, I think, without a compulsion for which there seems no necessity.

Verse 21.—Lest any should mistake the theme and subject of his sombre sketch, which surely needs no such inartistic legend, Bildad writes under it,

Such are the dwellings of the wicked,
And this the doom of him that knew not God.

Seldom has a picture been touched in with darker colours. Nevertheless we must admit that it is an accurate, though counterfeit, presentment of facts. There *have been* such bold and lawless sinners as he describes. They *have been* taken in their own toils. And, after having trembled under a burden of terrors they were not able to bear, they *have been* banished from a world they polluted, or have themselves violently rushed out of it, to be soon forgotten by men, or to be remembered only with hatred and execration. We do not and cannot deny that the facts were, and are, as Bildad depicted them. His error was, first, that he took *some* facts for *all*; and, second, that he would admit of only one interpretation of the facts he selected, although

they were susceptible of more than one. It by no means follows even in logic that what is true of *some*, is true of *all*, sinners ; nor that because sin is *one* cause of suffering, therefore suffering has *no other* cause. And, in point of fact, if there are some sinners who reap the due reward of their deeds in time, there are others, still more unhappy, who do not : if some are detected, exposed, and put to the ban before they leave the earth, there are others who are neither driven mad by the terrors of a haunted conscience, nor cast out from the society they have injured and debased. And, again, if the most terrible calamities to which man is exposed—the loss of all outward good, a heart torn by anguish and perplexity, a conscience tormented by doubt and apprehension, the reprobation of men and “universal hiss of scorn,” and even the apparent curse of God :—if all these sometimes befall the bold and insolent transgressor, there are also times when, as in the case of Job, they befall the most righteous and perfect of men.

So that, on the whole, we may say that Bildad's reading both of the lot of man and of the providence of God was false, and false because it was narrow and partial and hard. Say it ! We may *see* it. For Job was the sinner he had in his eye, and much that he had said was as true of Job as it was of the vilest despot who ever disgraced a home or a throne. Was not the lamp of Job put out ? Were not his strong strides, his easy and assured steps, narrowed and fettered to the mere circle of the *mezbele* ? Did he not move as amid nets and toils, finding no escape ? Was he not perplexed and terrified by the miseries which tore and rent his heart, scared with dreams, sickened with mis-

givings and doubts? Had not his children, his branches, been lopped off? *Was* he not the scorn and by-word of his clan? And yet, *was it for his sins* that he had been stricken? *Was* it because he knew not God, or had put Him from his thoughts, that he had become the contempt of the tribes? *Has* posterity forgotten him, or do we remember him only with hatred and amazement? So far from being set forth as a warning against bold impiety, he is set before us as an example of suffering patience. So far from gloating over his ruin, we rejoice in his deliverance.

S. COX.

SOME RECENT CRITICAL READINGS IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

II.

A FEW of the readings recently adopted by modern critics in the first three Gospels have already passed under our notice. We now take two examples from the Gospel of St. John.

John v. 3, 4.—The rendering of the *Textus Receptus* after the word “withered” in Verse 3 is given by the Authorized Version in the following form, “Waiting for the moving of the water. For an angel went down at a certain season into the pool and troubled the water : whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.” Three out of the four editions of the New Testament to which we are at present referring omit these words altogether. They are indeed retained by Lachmann ; but the evidence against them is so strong that, notwithstanding this exception, we may regard them as displaced by our chief modern critics from the text. Nor

is it difficult to imagine how they got into it. In Verse 7 we read in the reply of the impotent man to Jesus the undoubtedly genuine words, "Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool." The narrative, then, did speak of a "troubling of the water," without saying anything of the cause. It was believed that an angel was the cause; and some well-intentioned scribe, feeling that there was an omission in the text, noted down his impression of the fact in all probability upon the margin of his manuscript. From the margin it crept into the text. It is, however, of little moment to us at present whether this explanation be well founded or not. We have to do with the fact that modern criticism rejects the last half of Verse 3 and the whole of Verse 4. It is not possible to be insensible to the gain of doing so. However firm our faith may be in special interpositions of the Almighty and in the miracles of the New Testament, it is extremely difficult to read the words of which we speak, as they stand before us in our Bibles, without feeling that our faith is subjected to a very trying strain. There is an apocryphal air about the story that not only makes the reader suspicious of it, but even threatens to cast doubts upon miracles as a whole. Thousands upon thousands have been compelled by their very reverence for Scripture to look about for some means of explaining away this angelic interposition. How was it possible to think of anything of that kind going continuously forward? And then, too, natural explanations were at hand. Volcanic agencies in that volcanic region, hot springs, intermittent springs, could not fail to suggest themselves. Yet the words were there, "An angel went down." We may well be thankful for the simple solution that the words have no

right to be in the text. This, however, is not all. The removal of the words in question has an important bearing upon other difficulties occasioned to many a mind by the narrative of which they form part. Men are troubled, not only by what is said of the angel in the Received Text, but also by what they read of the healing virtues of the water. It is certainly possible that we have mention made of a gaseous spring, and that such a spring might be more active in the days of Jesus than it is now. We have many notices in ancient writers implying that in the early Christian era the volcanic agencies of Syria, and probably therefore of Palestine, were in a state of greater activity than has been exhibited by them in later times. But there is no need to raise discussion upon the point. It is far from certain that the pool here spoken of had the healing virtue generally ascribed to it. The Evangelist, when we read the true text, does not say that it had. *He gives no indication that the cures expected by the sick around the pool were actually performed.* Nor is the number of the sick, or the length of time they may have lain there, inconsistent with the idea that the supposed virtues of the pool were a delusion. Some sick persons may have benefited by the waters. The story may have got abroad and have been exaggerated. This once done, the experience of all countries, even in modern times, shews us how eagerly the popular mind will magnify such influence, and how tenaciously it will cling to the impression of its miraculous character in spite of innumerable disappointments. That the impotent man *expected* to be restored, could he but reach the water, is clear. Yet no word of Jesus and no statement of the Evangelist forbids us to believe that, even

although he had reached it, he would have been little the better for the immersion.

John ix. 4. — In the Authorized Version, founded upon the *Textus Receptus*, this verse runs, "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day." But three of our modern editions, Lachmann retaining the common text, read "We" instead of "I," Tischendorf even going the length of substituting, though certainly erroneously, "us" for "me" after "sent." The modern, to say nothing of its being also the true, reading must thus be held to be, "We must work the works of him that sent me;" and the gain is at once perceptible. The disciples of Jesus had begun the inquiry about the blind man before them, but only as a matter of curiosity and speculation, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" Jesus immediately turns their thoughts to the practical; and, identifying Himself with them and them with Himself, He says in substance, Speculative inquiries of that kind concern us not. You and I have one great task committed to us demanding all our care. We must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work. Does any one object that, as Jesus was about to perform a miracle, He could hardly identify his disciples with Himself in that. The answer is, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father" (*St. John* xiv. 12). Jesus does not work alone. On all the members of his body is laid the charge that they do, and continue to do, the very works which He was commissioned to do by the Father who sent Him. They and He are one, as He and the Father are one.

Before passing to the Epistles of the New Testament it may be well to take from the Acts of the Apostles an illustration of the point before us of a kind different from those supplied either by the Epistles or the Gospels. We take *Acts* xiii. 19, 20. The translation of the *Textus Receptus* as given in the Authorized Version is to the following effect, "And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot. And after that he gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet." The chronological difficulty presented by these words is of a very formidable kind, and it is rendered still more formidable by the fact that the statement contained in them is substantially confirmed by Josephus. The Jewish historian calculates the period from the *Exodus* to the building of the temple at five hundred and ninety-two years (*Antiq.* viii. 3, 1). Of these, we know that forty years have to be assigned to the wandering in the wilderness, twenty-five to the leadership of Joshua (*Antiq.* v. 1, 29), forty to the time between Samuel and the close of the reign of Saul (*Acts* xiii. 21), forty to the reign of David (1 Kings ii. 11), and four to the first years of Solomon (1 Kings vi. 1). Deducting these from the five hundred and ninety-two, we obtain four hundred and forty-three years as the period during which the Judges ruled, according to Josephus. St. Paul, indeed, says four hundred and fifty; but the difference, seven years, is slight, and may easily be taken as covered by the "about" in Verse 20 of our passage. Two statements of the kind so nearly agreeing appear to corroborate one another, and to attest the accuracy of

both. The whole period, again, according to St. Paul, between the *Exodus* and the building of the temple, will be five hundred and ninety-nine years.

But if so, there immediately arises an irreconcilable contradiction to the date given in 1 Kings vi. 1, where four hundred and eighty years is distinctly stated to be the time between the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt and the time when Solomon "began to build the house of the Lord:" there, five hundred and ninety-nine; here, four hundred and eighty years. The efforts of commentators to explain this difference have been extremely numerous, and all have failed. Alford justly pronounces them, in all the various forms which they have assumed, and which we have not space to enumerate, "arbitrary and forced" (New Testament *in loc.*). He himself, accordingly, follows Meyer, and probably the majority of recent scholars, in adopting the idea that St. Paul was guided by an extra-biblical computation; in other words, to use the language of Bunsen, one of the adherents of this view, that he "corrected Holy Writ by holy tradition."¹ Such a conclusion cannot be satisfactory, for it is in the highest degree improbable that St. Paul, addressing a Jewish audience, in whose eyes the date given in 1 Kings vi. 1 must, considering the two great epochs to which it referred, have been peculiarly sacred, should have forsaken the Bible record and substituted another, as he is supposed to do.

But there is a different reading of the passage, adopted by our four Editors, the effect of which is to transfer the words "about the space of four hundred and fifty years" from Verse 20 of the Authorized

¹ Bunsen's "Chronology of the Bible," with preface by Sayce, p. 26.

Version to Verse 19, so that we shall read: "He gave their land for an inheritance, about the space of four hundred and fifty years; and after these things he gave them judges, until Samuel the prophet." The whole meaning of the date is thus changed. It has now nothing to do with the time of the Judges. It has to do with the whole course of events the description of which begins at Verse 17, "The God of this people Israel," &c. It cannot possibly, as some recent commentators have supposed, have to do only with the clause immediately preceding it, because (1) the verb "gave for an inheritance" refers to a definite *point* of time, not to a period. (2) The "things" of "after these things" must *include* the four hundred and fifty years. We cannot, passing over that clause, go back to the simple fact "gave," &c., thus producing the absurd sense that the Israelites had possession of the land for four hundred and fifty years before they were under Judges. (3) The dative case of "the four hundred and fifty years" in the Greek is to be distinguished from the accusatives of Verses 18 and 21. The latter denote continuance of time, the run of the years. The former takes us back to a point at the beginning of the run, and encloses the whole space. That point here can only be fixed at the first of the successive clauses, at "the God of this people," &c., in Verse 17. Our four hundred and fifty years then embrace a period *altogether previous* to that of the Judges, and extending from the date implied in "the choosing out of the fathers" to the division of the promised land.¹

¹ The solution given above was long ago substantially, although in an inadmissible way, suggested, as Meyer tells us (*in loc.*), by Calovius, Mill, and others. They supplied *γενόμενα* after *πεντήκοντα* in Verse 20, rendering, "And after these things, which took place in four hundred and fifty years." The "things" thus

The chronological difficulty has disappeared, and the only remaining question is, Whether general Old Testament chronology warrants the conclusion that the new period before us was what it is thus stated by the Apostle to have been. Before answering, we must fix the beginning of the period. When did God "choose out the fathers"? The answer is, At the first fulfilment of the Abrahamic Covenant, at the birth of Isaac. Alford indeed asks, "Why the birth of Isaac?" We reply, Because Isaac was the first of the line of the promised seed, the first of the "chosen seed" spoken of, a choosing out which does not refer to separation from a place, as if the call of Abraham out of Haran were meant, but to separation from nations or from men—a separation, therefore, which was first accomplished in Isaac. It was in Isaac that the promised line of descent began which was to terminate in Jesus; and it is the clear object of St. Paul to trace *this* line from its beginning to its close in the discourse before us. If further proof of this were wanted we have it in Verse 26, where, having completed his historical statement, the Apostle begins a new part of his address by calling his hearers "sons of the race of Abraham;" not "sons of Abraham" (Gal. iii. 7; comp. Rom. iv. 12; James ii. 21), but sons of that race which, though it began *from* Abraham, really began *in* Isaac, the child of promise¹ The period before us, thus beginning with

spoken of then begin at Verse 17. To the suggestion as a whole, Alford justly objects, "The words will not bear this construction." The view, though true in itself, can be reached only by the amended reading.

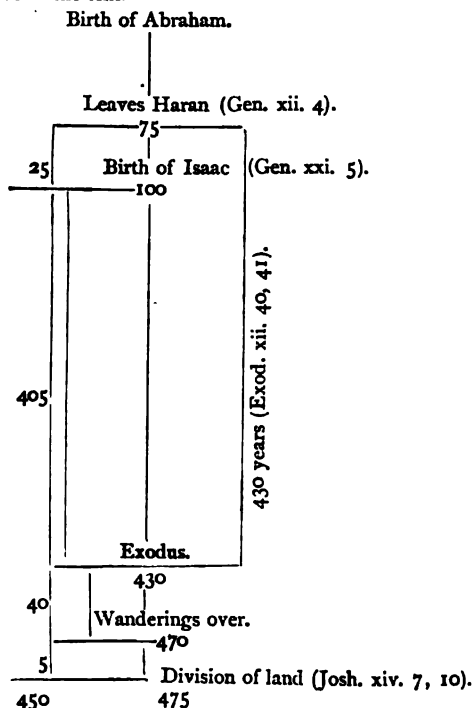
¹ It may be worth while to notice the emphasis lent to the address, "sons of the race of Abraham," by the fact that the Apostle begins each of the three parts into which his discourse divides itself with a different address. At Verse 16, "Men of Israel;" at Verse 26, "Men and brethren, sons of the race of Abraham;" at Verse 38, "Men and brethren."

the birth of Isaac, extends downwards to the division of the land. In estimating the length of this period we shall follow purely Biblical *data*, and shall make ourselves independent of the exact dates of the different chronological systems. From Exodus xii. 40, 41, then, we learn that from the time of Abraham's leaving Haran to the *Exodus* four hundred and thirty years elapsed. But Abraham left Haran at the age of seventy-five (Gen. xii. 4), and Isaac was born when the patriarch was one hundred (Gen. xxi. 5; Rom. iv. 19). Deducting therefore the difference between these two numbers, that is, twenty-five from four hundred and thirty years, we have four hundred and five years from the birth of Isaac to the *Exodus*. Add forty years for the wanderings in the wilderness, and we have four hundred and forty-five. But a comparison of Joshua xiv. 10 with xiv. 7, and of both with Chapter xiii. of that book, shews us that the division of the land took place five years after the wanderings closed; so that, again adding five, we have from the birth of Isaac to the dividing of the land four hundred and fifty years, *the precise period mentioned by St. Paul* in his address. So far from the date in this passage being in contradiction to the Old Testament, it is in most striking harmony with it. (See foot-note on page 203.) So far from St. Paul's following an extra-biblical tradition in the face of the Mosaic record, he depends upon that record in the strictest manner for the figures that he employs.

Before closing our remarks upon this passage, it may be well to say a word or two on its general structure, more especially as the view taken above of the point of time from which the four hundred and fifty years are

to be reckoned will be thereby confirmed. It is the object of St. Paul, then, in the first section of his discourse, to trace the historical preparation for the coming of Jesus from the birth of Isaac, who is the first seed of Abraham, downwards to Him who is the true seed of the patriarch, Christ. In doing this he divides the whole period into two parts, the first extending from the birth of Isaac to the division of the promised land, the second to Jesus Himself. The two periods terminate in similar events, the second of the two being the fulfilment of the first. It is on this account that St. Paul uses the remarkable expression in Verse 24, of which the

It may help our statement a little if we present in the form of a diagram what has been stated above in the text.



Authorized Version conveys a most inadequate idea, "When John had first preached *before the face of his entering in;*" and that the word "Saviour," the Greek for Joshua or Jesus, is prefixed to the name "Jesus." Jesus Himself is the true Joshua, "entering" first, and giving his people an "entrance" into their inheritance, as Joshua of old had given to the people whom he led an entrance into Canaan. On this account also he probably speaks of the baptizing of John, that baptism corresponding to the passage of Israel through the river Jordan. Such is the general idea, but each of the two sections is further, as shewn by the successive aorists, divided into five parts corresponding to one another.

(1) "Chose out our fathers" (Verse 17), corresponding to "Gave judges" (Verse 20); (2) "Exalted the people" (Verse 17), corresponding to "Asked a king" (Verse 21); (3) "Brought he them out" (Verse 17), corresponding to "Gave them Saul" (Verse 21); (4) "Bare he them as a nursing father" (Verse 18), corresponding to "Raised up David to be their king" (Verse 22); (5) "Gave their land for an inheritance" (Verse 19), corresponding to "Brought unto Israel a Saviour Jesus" (Verse 23); the whole history being thus comprised in ten parts, after the same manner as that in which Stephen had adduced ten successive stages of God's dealings with Abraham in Acts vii. 2-8.¹

From the Acts of the Apostles we turn to the Epistles of the New Testament; and, referring our readers to Canon Lightfoot's book on "The Revision

¹ Comp. Baumgarten's "Apostolic History," Clark's Translation, vol. i. p. 147. It may be doubted if the ten points are given by Baumgarten with perfect correctness; but, even if a slight change be made, the number ten remains. Comp. also p. 415.

of the New Testament" for some extremely interesting examples of readings recently adopted in the Epistles of St. Paul, we turn in the short remaining space at our command to one or two from later books.

Hebrews iv. 2.—The Authorized Version gives this text in the words, "For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as unto them: but the word preached did not profit them, not being mixed with faith in them that heard it." The last clause is a translation of the *Textus Receptus*, the participle "mixed" being in the nominative case, and agreeing with "the word" immediately preceding. But there is another reading of the participle which makes it an accusative instead of a nominative, and this reading is adopted in three of the editions of the New Testament now before us, Tischendorf alone retaining the nominative. The accusative participle, of course, agrees with "them," it being then said that these had not profited by the word, "not having been mingled by faith with those who heard it." Hence, however, an almost insuperable difficulty in the passage; for "they" who did not profit by the word are the whole congregation of Israel, except two men, Caleb and Joshua. Those who "heard" in faith are these two; and it seems so much out of the question to speak of a multitude of persons as "mingled with" two, that Alford, who follows the evidence and reads the accusative, remarks, "The passage is almost a *locus desperatus*" (*in loc.*). His own explanation, indeed, leaves it in full possession of this character. He takes "those who heard it," not in a historical, but in a categorical sense, as descriptive not of any particular persons, but of a class of hearers, those who listen to the word in a becoming spirit; and the

sacred writer is understood to say that those who fell in the wilderness were not profited by the word, because they were not one in faith with true hearers of it, did not correspond in their method of receiving it with faithful hearers whom it does profit. "I fairly own," he adds, "that this interpretation *does not satisfy* me; but it seems the only escape from violation either of the rules of criticism or of those of grammar, and therefore I am constrained to accept it until some better be suggested." Not satisfying him, it will hardly satisfy others. It is indeed wholly impossible to take "those that heard" in the categorical sense proposed. The text and the context alike, the grammar and the thought, require that we shall understand it historically, and refer it to Caleb and Joshua.

Yet even while we do so, the sense is so far from "desperate," that it is in a high degree interesting and striking. At the same time it illustrates in a remarkable manner that Pauline spirit of which there are so many traces in the Epistle to the Hebrews. What we have to account for is, that the sacred writer should speak as he does when they who *did not* listen of old to the word were a multitude, those who *did*, only two? How could the former be described as "not mingled with" the latter? Let us look back at Chapter iii. Verse 16, interpreted by most modern commentators as a question, "For who, having heard, did provoke? Was it not all who came out from Egypt by means of Moses?" Surely that interpretation is not correct. It is, at all events, contradicted by the fact; and, even if it were confirmed by the fact, it has no immediate bearing on the argument, which involves in it the thought of certain persons saved quite as much as of certain lost.

We take the words, therefore, in their simple and natural meaning, "For some, having heard, did provoke: howbeit not all that came out from Egypt by means of Moses." Why "some"? when we know that the remark applies to nearly all, to all except Caleb and Joshua. The answer is that, while equally answering the purpose of the argument, it *softens the charge and is less calculated to offend*. So far as is consistent with the end that he has in view, the writer of the Epistle would conciliate the proud people to whom he speaks; and instead of saying that the whole congregation of their fathers provoked God in the wilderness, and that only a few were saved, he says "*some* provoked," leaving it to be inferred that *some* were saved. So also, then, in the passage before us, the "them that heard it" are the same that had been permitted to enter the promised land; the "them not having been mingled by faith" are the same that refused to listen; and when there are thus before our eyes, not opened to the full facts of the case, "some" on both sides, there can be no impropriety in saying that the one "some" was not mingled with the other. Thus viewed, the true text of the verse we are considering bears out all that we asserted of it. It is full of power and beauty. It illustrates also that gentle courteousness of the Apostle Paul, whether we believe the words to be immediately his or not, which led him so often to introduce qualifying expressions into his charges, in order that he might thus win rather than repel, and might look at offences from the most favourable, rather than from the most unfavourable, point of view. Let us put ourselves into the position of the Hebrews written to. In a high degree jealous, haughty, sensitive as to the glory of our past, we yet

need to have its solemn and humbling lessons brought home to us. The sacred writer addresses us as he does. As we read, we cherish for the moment the pleasing delusion that our fathers who did not fall in the wilderness were not merely the nobler, but it may be even the larger, part of the congregation that came out of Egypt, and we think with increased condemnation of those who would not hear in a similar faith. The tact of our teacher spares our feelings, and yet the sad example of so many of our fathers makes us "fear lest, a promise being left us of entering into God's rest, any of us should seem to come short of it" (Chap. iv. 1).

1 *Peter* iii. 15. — In Authorized Version, after the *Textus Receptus*, "But sanctify the Lord God in your hearts;" but our four editions adopt another reading, the effect of which is to make the rendering, "But sanctify in your hearts the Christ as Lord." As to the propriety of adopting this reading there can be no doubt, nor can there be any as to its importance when adopted. The words are a direct application to the Christ of *Isaiah* viii. 12, 13, "Neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear." Thus language applied by the prophet to the Lord of hosts is here applied to the Redeemer. The dogmatic importance of the text is unquestionable.

1 *John* iii. 1. — In the *Textus Receptus*, as translated in the Authorized Version, we read, "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the sons of God;" after which the sacred writer goes on, "Therefore the world knoweth us not, because it knew him not." But between these two sentences the words *καὶ ἐσμεν* ("and

we are," or, "and *such* we are") are inserted by our Editors. There can be no doubt as to the propriety of the insertion, and just as little as to the interest and beauty of the reading. High as is the privilege of being "called" sons of God, the beloved disciple cannot rest in that, and he passes on to the thought that he and his fellow-disciples "are" what they are called. With this he then immediately connects the inference that the world which knew not the Son of God does not know us who are sons of God in Him. Because, in short, we are one with Jesus, we must share his fate. Of the true followers of the Redeemer it may be said to the world as it was said of their great Master, "There stand those among you whom ye know not" (John i. 26). The words find also a striking parallel in those of Jesus Himself to his disciples at the foot-washing, "Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am" (*εἰμι γὰρ*—John xiii. 13). It may be well to observe that the verb "call" is represented in this passage by a different verb from that in the text before us, that in the Gospel expressing the more outward form of address, "Ye address me as Master and Lord;" that in the Epistle expressing a calling in which it is known by him who calls that there is an inward reality corresponding to the outward name. (Comp., for this use of *καλεῖν*, John i. 43; Rev. xi. 8; xii. 9; xvi. 16; xix. 11, 13). The name "sons of God" given us in the Epistle is bestowed, not by the world, but by the Father. The Father calls us "sons of God." Still further, the style of thought in the words before us is interesting when compared with examples of a similar style in the Apocalypse: "Calling themselves apostles, and they are not" (not as Autho-

rized Version, "and are not," Chap. ii. 2); "Which say that themselves are Jews, and they are not" (not as in Authorized Version "and are not," Chap. ii. 9).

1 *John* v. 18.—In this Verse, after the first clause, running in the Authorized Version, "We know that whosoever is born of God sinneth not," we read, in correct translation from the *Textus Receptus*, "But he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not." But there is a more recent reading adopted by three out of our four editions, Lachmann failing us here, which substitutes *αὐτόν* for *ἑαυτόν*, "him" for "himself;" so that the true rendering becomes, "But he that was begotten of God keepeth him." "He that was begotten of God" refers then, not to the believer, but to Jesus, the Son Himself, the eternally begotten of the Father. The believer is described in the first clause of the Verse, which ought to be translated, "Every one that hath been begotten of God" (comp. this sense of the same participle in Chap. ii. 29; iii. 9; iv. 7; v. 1); the Son is described in the second clause as "he that was begotten;" and the statement of the Verse is not that the former keepeth himself, a statement which has afforded no small trouble to orthodox expositors, but that the Son "keepeth him." How striking is the parallel thus presented to us to the words of the high-priestly prayer of Jesus, which, as we see also from Verses 16, 17 of this Chapter, was at the moment so much in the mind of the Apostle. "While I was with them I kept them in thy name which thou hast given me" (*John* xvii. 12). Nay, more: is there not a special encouragement conveyed to the followers of Christ by the new reading which was wanting with

the old? Even if we substitute "begotten" for "born," so inexplicably inserted by the Authorized Version in the first clause, while it leaves "begotten" in the second, it is a poor rendering that we obtain. "We know that whosoever hath been begotten of God sinneth not; but he that is (was) begotten of God keepeth himself, and that (the) wicked one toucheth him not." We keep ourselves! It is little that we can do. But such is not the sense. It is that the eternally-begotten Son, identified with us by the fact that as He "was begotten" so we "have been begotten," keepeth us. To Him the prince of this world came and had nothing in Him; but with Him we are one, secure in his security, victorious in his victory. He makes us partakers of his own nature, bids us occupy his own position, conveys to us a full participation in his own privileges. We do not as yet realize it wholly, but we dare not faint by the way; for "we know that every one that hath been begotten of God sinneth not, but he that was begotten of God keepeth him, and the wicked one toucheth him not."

The examples now given must suffice. It will be obvious that they might have been very largely extended, but the limits within which a paper such as the present must be confined forbid any attempt to increase their number. The reader will hardly fail to have noticed that those selected have been of very different kinds, some relating to historical, others to dogmatical, questions; some tending to remove difficulties hitherto acknowledged to be insuperable, others only adding point to the narrative or force to the argument of the sacred writer. The effect ought to be to dispel from the minds of candid inquirers the prejudices with which

the introduction of these later readings is apt to be regarded by not a few whose reverence for Scripture is worthy of the highest respect and admiration. It cannot be denied that men are apt to approach this subject with hasty prepossessions and foregone conclusions. We have heard from a friend, present at the time, a story of one of the most eminent and pious of the Scottish clergy of a past generation, illustrating what we say. A dispute had arisen in a company in which he was as to whether or not a certain text ought to be considered an interpolation. After much argument, an appeal was made to the minister of whom we speak, when he replied with great solemnity, "I am sorry for him who does not tremble at the Word." It had strangely escaped his notice that the whole question was whether the disputed text was to be regarded as a part of the Word or not. A similar prejudice still exists in the minds of many against the results of recent criticism, and it ought to be highly satisfactory to them to see that not only is the danger apprehended by them imaginary, but that the force and beauty of the Word which they value are brought out into a clearer light than before. The effect of this ought to be to win assent to readings which they might at first have shrunk from. The natural and true course of feeling upon this point has been so well expressed by Dr. Vaughan, that we shall quote his words, taking them however, not directly from the book in which they are found, but from Dr. Scrivener's last edition of his "Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament," and this because Dr. Scrivener's quotation shews that he, too, acknowledges their truth. "Yet, while refusing without hesitation the claim of the *monstra* which

follow to be regarded as a part of the sacred text, we are by no means insensible to the fact impressed upon us by the Master of the Temple, that there are readings (*e.g.*, Mark vii. 19 ; 1 John v. 18) which conciliate favour the more we think over them : it is the special privilege of truth always to grow upon candid minds. We subjoin his persuasive words : ' It is deeply interesting to take note of the process of thought and feeling which attends in one's own mind the presentation of some unfamiliar reading. At first sight the suggestion is repelled as unintelligible, startling, almost shocking. By degrees light dawns upon it—it finds its plea and its palliation. At last, in many instances, it is accepted as adding force and beauty to the context, and a conviction gradually forms itself that thus and not otherwise was it written ' " (Vaughan, " Epistle to the Romans," Preface to the third edition, p. xxi.).¹ The process of thought thus described and commended is both ingenuous and true, and we are persuaded that it is that through which all will pass who calmly weigh the claims of the text adopted by our most recent Editors of the New Testament. In a multitude of instances they will be unable to resist the conviction that the gain is, in one direction or another, of great importance, and they will accept, after reflection, what they at first rejected.

But that will not be all. There will be a further step in their reasoning not less important. They will see that the readings now admitted by them were not adopted because they pleased those who put them into the text, but upon *evidence* ; and they will draw the conclusion that the evidence which led to a decision

¹ Scrivener's " Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament," 471, note.

acceptable in some cases must also be bowed to in other cases, although the beneficial effect may not be so immediately perceptible. It would never do for each student of Scripture to select readings according to his own taste or fancy, to give way to subjective impressions, or to yield too much to what is called internal evidence, although it is often nothing more than the verdict of individual education, habit, or caprice. The question in each case, it will be seen, is one of difficulty and delicacy, not unfrequently of very great difficulty and very great delicacy ; and it will be acknowledged that it would be in the highest degree unjust to allow mere liking for one reading rather than another to overbear the legitimate results of varied processes of proof.

If it be said that the interests at stake are momentous, and that doctrines long held in the Church of Christ may be endangered by some of these newer readings, we might reply that any such impression is false. There is not the least fear of that result. Any changes of doctrine, should such be in store for us, will come, not from changes in the text, but from changed methods of reasoning on the text. This, however, is hardly the proper method of reply. It would be more just to say, that were changes of doctrine to be the certain result of readings demonstrated to be correct, there is all the more need that these readings should be introduced without a moment's delay. By what right does any man allow that to stand in the Bible of whose correctness he is not satisfied, and all the more if it be of a character to affect doctrinal results ? There is but one course open to us : first, that of patient and reverent inquiry ; next, that of faithful-

ness to God, to what we believe to be truth, and to ourselves. Yet it is pleasing to think that the course of truth will prove also the wisest and best. Of the great advantages that will be secured upon the whole, there cannot be a doubt. By seeking first the kingdom of God it will be won, and much also will be added to us.

One brief remark more, and we have done. Defenders of more recently adopted readings ought not to plead, by way of palliation, that they are few and unimportant. Were they so, we might be asked with some show of reason, Why disturb men's minds about them? But they are both many and important. They may not change doctrines received in the Church, but there is a vast deal besides that of consequence; and the more these readings are studied, the more varied and far-reaching will *be seen to be their influence*. The one consideration to be ever before us is, that they, as a part of Holy Writ, are the cause of God; and that it is our duty to be on God's side, be the consequences to human calculation what they may. W. MILLIGAN.

THE LAWS OF THE KINGDOM AND THE
INVITATION OF THE KING.

ST. MATTHEW xi. 25-30.

I.—THE FIRST LAW.

THIS passage has been discussed so recently in the pages of THE EXPOSITOR, and in so full and able a manner by Dr. Bruce, that it may seem scarcely necessary to go over the ground again. Yet Scripture has many sides, and it is possible that every earnest stu-

dent looks at it in a different light, catches here and there a glimpse of the varied surface which others have failed to notice, and thus may contribute something further to its elucidation. It is with this conviction that I venture to add one or two suggestions to the interpretation of this most interesting passage.

My remarks will be addressed chiefly to the relation in which the three main clauses of the passage stand one to another, because, so far as I have observed, expositors have not directed sufficient attention to this point. It may, of course, be said that in the parallel passage of St. Luke, the relation does not exist, the Gracious Invitation is wanting, and we are not warranted therefore in assuming any original connection between our Lord's words in Verses 25-27 and the Invitation which follows. As St. Matthew has placed the utterance of the words on a different occasion from that in which they are found in St. Luke, so he may have joined together words which were not originally joined together in the mouth of the Speaker.

And yet, I believe each part of the passage loses by a severance between the two. The contrast, the paradox, is not only striking, it is profoundly true, profoundly instructive. The Invitation would lose immensely in impressiveness if severed from the words going before. The words going before catch a softer tint, a light as of sunset on the austere grandeur of mountain summits, from the Invitation which follows. We have here that blending of majesty and meekness, that wonderful union of the Divine and the human which stamps our Lord's words with a character perfectly unique, and which is the absolutely necessary condition of any true Revelation from God to man.

But to come more closely to the links of thought by which the whole is riveted together. We have in this passage, first, the laws of the kingdom, and then the invitation of the King. This is briefly the relation between the two parts of the passage. So far from being contradictory or discordant, they are bound together by the principle of an inner harmony. The first law declares the condition on which alone the Revelation of God can be received: "I thank thee that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." The revelation is made to humility. The second law expresses the nature and the method of the revelation: "All things are delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." The revelation is made only through Christ. Then follows the Invitation, corresponding exactly to these conditions: made, (1) not to the self-sufficiency of man, but to his need, and the confession of that need; made by One who is meek and lowly in heart,—thus explaining and interpreting the first law; and made (2) with a promise of rest to those, and those only, who take upon them Christ's yoke, and learn of Him, thus confirming the second law, that they only attain to the knowledge of God who attain to it through Christ.

1. The first law, then, of the kingdom is this, that God's Revelation of Himself is addressed, not to man's pride, but to his humility; not to the intellect arrogantly asserting itself, but to the childlike heart, the open unprejudiced spirit which is willing to receive what God gives, instead of dictating to Him the terms

on which it shall be given; not to those who are wise in their own eyes and understanding in their own sight, but to those who are ready to become fools that they may be wise,—to children

crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.

In speaking of this as the first *law* of Christ's kingdom, I do so emphatically and purposely. For these words, and words like these in the Gospel, have been strangely perverted. They have been treated, not as the expression of a Divine order, but as the expression of a supreme arbitrary Will. They have been interpreted as if that which called forth our Lord's joy and thankfulness was not the moral beauty of a law, but the exercise of an inscrutable power. "*Thou hast hidden.*" Is not that, it is said, a sovereign act, before which we must bow our heads in unquestioning awe? Is it not plain that God has determined "by his counsel secret to us" to shut out certain persons from the knowledge of his truth? He chooses whom He will, He leaves others to their fate, which is the same thing as passing on them the sentence of perdition, "*Quos ergo præterit reprobat.*" So men have piously argued, thinking to exalt God by representing Him as an absolute Master, who "will not give an account of any of his matters."

And yet, how is it possible to believe, in face of the large and loving Invitation which follows, that our Lord could have rejoiced because certain persons had been smitten with a moral blindness which excluded them from his kingdom? The words "*Thou hast hidden,*" must admit of, must require, an explanation consistent with the invitation. The key to that expla-

nation is given in the name by which our Lord addresses the Father. "I thank thee, O Father, *Lord of heaven and earth.*" The Father whom He thus invokes, is Lord of the kingdom of nature as well as of the kingdom of grace, and the principles of his administration must be the same in both. In both He rules by laws which are the expression of his righteousness. The moral order and the physical order are correlated, and the beauty of each is to be discerned by the same method. We rejoice to acknowledge and to trace the order in the realm of nature ; we are never tired of insisting upon it ; we have almost said of the physical laws of the universe, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." Why do we hesitate and stumble when the moral order is in question ? It is as certain that man's life, his temper, his spirit, his conduct are under the control of law, as it is that the material bodies of the universe are under the control of law. Whilst, therefore, every action of man is free, every action is tending, by virtue of the great moral laws of his being, to certain results. And hence it is often a matter of indifference, so far as the result is concerned, whether we speak of it as the consequence of the man's own action, or whether we ascribe it to the law of God's appointment, that is, to God Himself. So Scripture tells us that God hardened Pharaoh's heart, and that Pharaoh hardened his own heart. Both statements are equally true. God hardened Pharaoh's heart. Was that an arbitrary punishment, or was it the result of the moral constitution of things ? ' God's will is and must be a righteous will. God lays a command upon Pharaoh, and, instead of subduing, it irritates and provokes him ; it

stirs up all that is worst in his nature; he fights against God. The sin brings with it, like all sin, its repeated chastisement; but the chastisement does not produce moral reformation. And, according to the law of all chastisements, failing to reform it hardens. The resistance becomes more determined and desperate: the heart grows harder. That is the result of all thwarting of the will of God. It must be the result, precisely because his will is a righteous will. The hardening, then, of Pharaoh's heart, or of any man's heart, is the result no doubt of a man's own temper, of his obstinate self-will: he hardens his own heart. But that self-will frets and chafes and struggles against the One supremely righteous Will; it is at variance with and in conflict with the moral order of the universe. You may therefore say, looking at it from the other, the Divine, side of the question, that the Will of God occasions the evil, that inasmuch as his Will rules the universe, and the constitution of man is his work, He hardens the heart.

Precisely so it is, as regards the law which our Lord recognizes here, The first condition of God's self-revelation is that it is made to humility. The "wise and the understanding" cannot by their wisdom and their understanding, find out God. If they make the attempt they fail; it is contrary to God's eternal law; they are fighting against God. From such men *God* has hidden these things. Is that an arbitrary law, an unreasonable law? Is it not the law of the acquisition of all knowledge? What has been the history of the greatest discoveries concerning the physical constitution of the universe? So long as men built up theories out of their own brains, framing to themselves systems,

and conjecturing what the universe *ought to be* according to their own conceptions, they failed utterly to comprehend the beauty and harmony of the world, and their theories were false and worthless. When they sat down with patient reverence to study what the world really was,—seeking with humility to ascertain what God had wrought, instead of presumptuously affirming what ought to be the fashion of the universe; learning, instead of assuming to teach; confessing ignorance, instead of asserting knowledge,—then their patience and their humility received their due reward. Magnificent discoveries crowned their labours. God revealed to these “babes” the mystery and the glory of the world, which He had hid from the “wise and prudent.”

The law of the spiritual world, as here announced, is precisely the same. Humility here, too, is the gate of knowledge. This is here still more emphatically true, because pride is at the root of man's moral perversion: he fell by listening to the tempter's lie, “Ye shall be as God;” he can only be restored by the acknowledgment of his error; he must have the heart and temper of a child. It is the first condition of knowledge; it is the first law of the kingdom. God reveals Himself to babes, to the unprejudiced, the candid, the simple, the teachable, to those who are ready to place themselves in the seat of learners, and to be fools that they may be wise. And our Lord gratefully recognizes here the wisdom of the law which He beheld written in letters of light over the portals of his kingdom: “Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter therein.”

And whether we say that the wise and the under-

standing in their arrogance cannot discern God—have “hid these things” from themselves—or whether we say, God has so ordered the world and man’s nature that God reveals Himself only to the humble, and therefore has “hid these things from the wise and understanding,” the statement is equally true, and his hiding is no part of an arbitrary election, but the necessary result of his eternal wisdom and righteousness.

This is the great law of the kingdom. He who would enter therein must enter as a child; he must enter not indeed by abdicating his intellect, but by putting his intellect in its right place. Would we have it otherwise? Would we have it left to the exercise of man’s intellectual powers to find out God, and to determine for himself the nature and the limits of revelation? Shall it be the privilege of the great discoverer, or of the wise philosopher, to tell the world what they are to believe? I say nothing of the imperfection of the human mind, or of the terrible moral perversion of the human heart, which must cloud man’s thoughts of God and drive him, as it has driven him in all ages, to make a god the creature of his own baseness, his own imperfection, his own lusts and passions, his own sin. I say nothing of the arrogance of the human intellect, which has ever held the key of knowledge, only to admit the few *elite* within its charmed circle. But would we have this honour put upon man’s intellect? Would we have this the sign and evidence of its greatness that it shall need no help from above, that it shall be self-sufficing, that religion, like philosophy, or art, or science, shall spring from the brain of man? What, then, will become of the poor, the simple, and the suffering? What will

become of those who lack the intellectual capacity to grasp high truths, or the notions which an arrogant and self-satisfied reason propounds as such? What will become of that vast crowd who plod along the dusty highways of the world, carrying each, with weary feet, his burden of woe and toil? They cannot explore mysteries, they cannot study systems, they cannot construct theologies, they cannot follow your elaborate proofs. They want the message of a Father's love. They want a sunshine which shall stream in upon their hearts and light up their daily lives. They need for their spiritual being, for its trials and temptations, its struggles and griefs, the same beneficent provision which is made for them in nature. The sunshine and the rain are God's gifts to man, by which he lives; they are not in man's power to summon or destroy. And it was because our Lord saw the same wisdom and righteousness displayed in God's self-revelation, because He saw it was made to man's need, and not to man's self-sufficiency, that He rejoiced in spirit when He declared this as the first law of the kingdom, with grateful acknowledgment of the Father's goodness,—
 "I thank thee,¹ Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and the understanding. Even so, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight."

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

¹ This has been frequently rendered (*c.g.*, by Alford), "I confess to thee," and explained, *I fully recognise the justice of thy doings*. But *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* is in the LXX. the common rendering of the Hiphil of the Hebrew verb *הודו*, *to give thanks*.

THE COMPLEMENT OF CHRIST'S AFFLICTIONS.

COLOSSIANS i. 24.

THE context of this passage, which certainly contains "things hard to be understood," does not throw much light upon its meaning, inasmuch as the words are a parenthesis which might have been omitted without any injury to the general sense. In the preceding paragraph, St. Paul had been adverting to the glory of the gospel dispensation, arising from the supreme dignity of its Author, the unspeakable blessings which it confers, and the universal reconciliation which it effects—"Reconciling all things unto himself, whether they be things on earth, or things in heaven." Of this glorious gospel he was privileged to be a minister, an announcer of the glad tidings of reconciliation—"Whereof I Paul am made a minister." Here the Apostle breaks off his discourse to interject a brief thanksgiving to God that he was permitted to suffer for Christ's sake and the gospel's, since by his sufferings "he filled up that which is behind in the affliction of Christ for his body's sake, which is the church." Having thus given vent to the personal emotion quickened within him by the singular privilege conferred upon him, he, as his manner was, returns to the point at which he had broken off, and takes up the thread of his discourse by repeating its last phrase, "Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God which is given to me for you, to fulfil the word of God; even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints." Our passage, then, is evidently a mere parenthesis in the Apostle's discourse.

The exegesis of the passage is as follows. *Who*: that is, "I, Paul," connected with the preceding words, "Whereof I Paul am made a minister." It is doubtful, however, if this word is in the original: the best manuscripts omit it. *Now*: not a particle of connection or transition, but of time, as is evident from its position in the original, and from the parenthetical nature of the Verse; *now*, at this present time, in contrast with the past when he was made a minister. Either now, whilst reflecting on the glorious gospel which I am privileged to announce; or, rather, now, although a prisoner at Rome and in chains, although suffering for the cause of the gospel. *Rejoice*: joy in; the union of joy with suffering often occurs with this Apostle—"We glory in tribulation." *In my sufferings*: or, rather, "in sufferings," the pronoun not being in the original. His sufferings were not merely the sphere of his joy, "joy in the midst of sufferings," but the cause or the occasion of his joy—"joy on account of sufferings." *For you*: not "instead of you," or "in room of you"—there is here no reference to the idea of substitution—nor yet "on your account," but "on your behalf," "for your sake." *And fill up*: a double compound verb, not found elsewhere in the New Testament, signifying to fill up by way of compensation; hence it may be rendered "supplement," or, rather, "complete." *That which is behind*: indicating what was yet wanting in the afflictions of Christ to fill them up, or to render them complete. The word denotes "those things which are lacking." The nearest approach to it is "deficiencies," though without precisely implying that there was any positive defect in the afflictions of Christ. Our own Version is not inappropriate, "that which

remains behind." *Of the afflictions* : a different word from that rendered "sufferings" in the former clause : it does not denote the vicarious suffering of Christ, but his afflictions. *Of Christ* : not the afflictions of which Christ was the cause, but of which He is the subject : his afflictions, the afflictions which He endures. *In my flesh* : belonging to the verb "fill up," namely, fill up or complete in my flesh. Paul's sufferings in his flesh supplemented or completed what was lacking in Christ's afflictions. *For* : "for the sake of," "on behalf of." *His body* : there being here an antithesis of the Apostle's flesh and Christ's body. *Which is the church* : an explanation of what is meant by the body of Christ. So that the passage literally translated runs as follows : "Now I rejoice in suffering for your sake, and am completing in my flesh the deficiencies of the afflictions of Christ for the sake of his body, that is, the Church." The passage is beautifully rendered in Luther's translation : "Nun freue ich mich in meinem Leiden, dass ich für euch leide, und erstatte an meinem Fleisch was noch mangelt an Trübsalen in Christo für seinen Leib, welcher ist die Gemeinde."

This being the exegesis of the passage, several interpretations may at once be dismissed as inadmissible. All those, for instance, which give a substitutionary meaning to the preposition *for*, as if Paul's sufferings were vicarious like those of Christ, a meaning unsupported by this passage, and in evident contradiction to the general scope of Pauline doctrine. So also we may dismiss all those meanings which regard the afflictions of Christ as those of which He is the cause ; such as "afflictions which Christ sends," "afflictions of which Christ is the author." The genitive is not the genitive of agency,

but of possession. We may also omit those meanings which give a metaphorical or figurative interpretation to the afflictions of Christ; such as "afflictions for the sake of Christ." All these are artificial explanations, employed to escape a difficulty. The afflictions are the afflictions endured by Christ.

Having thus dismissed without examination what we consider inadmissible interpretations, we now proceed to consider four of the most plausible meanings which have been attached to the words.

1. Some understand by what is wanting in Christ's afflictions deficiencies in those sufferings which He endured for the reconciliation of his people. They suppose that there was a certain deficiency in the sufferings that Christ submitted to in order to reconcile the world to God, which deficiency had to be completed, or filled up, or supplemented, by the sufferings of St. Paul and of other followers of Christ. A distinction is made between sufferings for the sake of atonement and sufferings for the sake of reconciliation. The former refer to original sin, and are complete and infinitely sufficient; the latter refer to actual sins, and have to be supplemented by the sufferings of all who take up the cross for Christ's sake. The great argument for this view is that it gives a true and natural meaning to the words, and that it is supported by the context, wherein the Apostle is discoursing on the blessings of reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ. This, or something like this, is the meaning which the Romanists adopt, and which is supported by the majority of their divines. And it is chiefly on the above interpretation of this Verse that they maintain their doctrines of indulgences, works of super-

erogation, and the transferable merits of the saints—doctrines which, according to our Protestant notions, have given rise to the grossest abuses in the Christian Church. They assume that Paul's sufferings and the sufferings of other saints were meritorious, and that in this sense Paul by his sufferings filled up the deficiencies in the afflictions of Christ.

Such a view we consider not only as totally unsupported by this text, but as in direct variance with the views of St. Paul and the undoubted sense of Scripture. It involves the idea of substitution. But, as we have already seen, the words, strictly interpreted, do not admit of this idea. Paul suffered not in the room, but for the sake of the Church. It may indeed be asserted that substitution is contained in the notion of atonement, but not in the notion of reconciliation; but, in reality, there is no essential difference between these two ideas: the atonement is the cause of our reconciliation. The distinction is not a scriptural one, and is introduced for a purpose. It is also to be observed that the Apostle does not speak of the sufferings, but of the *afflictions* of Christ; he employs a word which of itself does not necessarily imply the idea of meritorious suffering, but rather seems to exclude it. And certainly the above view is directly opposed to Paulinism. Nothing can be more alien to the theology of Paul than the assumption that there is any deficiency in the expiatory sufferings of Christ. And, indeed, the whole of Scripture is opposed to this view of the subject. The sufferings of Christ, as an atonement for sin and as the cause of reconciliation, are always represented as perfect. The sacrifice which He offered on Calvary is of infinite efficacy. "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth

us from all sin." Whatever be the meaning of this difficult passage it cannot possibly imply any defect or incompleteness in the expiatory sufferings of Christ which needs to be supplemented by the efforts or endurances of weak and sinful men.

2. Others consider the afflictions of Christ which have to be filled up; not as his expiatory sufferings, but as sufferings endured for the building up of his Church and for the confirmation of believers in the faith. According to this opinion, the sufferings of Christ are regarded from two points of view, sufferings for the sake of satisfaction, and sufferings for the sake of edification: they have their sacrificial efficacy and their ministerial utility. Considered sacrificially, the sufferings of Christ are perfect; He has offered, once for all, a complete atonement for the sins of the world. But considered ministerially, the sufferings of Christ are incomplete; they are supplemented by the afflictions of the faithful. The phrase, "the afflictions of Christ," is here employed, therefore, in its true and natural sense—the afflictions which He himself endured. This is the view advanced by Professor Lightfoot in his unrivalled commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians. "It is," he observes, "a simple matter of fact that the afflictions of every saint and martyr do supplement the afflictions of Christ. The Church is built up by repeated acts of self-denial in successive individuals and successive generations. They continue the work which Christ began. They bear their part in the sufferings of Christ; but St. Paul would have been the last to say that they bear their part in the atoning sacrifice of Christ."

Notwithstanding the high authority by which this view has been advanced and supported, and the natural

sense which it gives to the phrase, "the afflictions of Christ," we must regard it as hazy and far-fetched. No such distinction of the sufferings of Christ as those for satisfaction and those for edification is to be found in Scripture; nor is there any ground for affirming that the one is complete and the other incomplete. Although the sufferings of Christ *are* an example for our imitation, viewed as an instance of self-sacrifice, and the sufferings of the saints are for the edification of the Church, considered as examples of faith and patience; yet it would afford but a doubtful and mystical meaning to affirm that the afflictions of believers complete the afflictions of Christ in the building up of his Church. Such a meaning does not lie on the surface, and would not suggest itself to the first readers of the Epistle. With the profoundest respect for the great commentator who has advanced it, we are nevertheless compelled to dismiss it as obscure, unsatisfactory, and fanciful.

3. A third and more plausible interpretation is that which takes St. Paul's sufferings as similar and almost coincident with Christ's afflictions. The sufferings of Paul were in an important sense the sufferings of Christ. He drank of the same bitter cup, and was baptized with the same baptism. He trod the same path of sorrow. And more especially those sufferings which he endured for the sake of the gospel were the afflictions of Christ. Take Christ away, and his sufferings would cease; he would no longer suffer persecution. Thus, then, in his flesh, in his own person, he filled up that which was behind in the afflictions of Christ. He endured sufferings like those of his Lord; and, like his Lord, endured them for the sake of the

Church. This is the view advanced by Meyer, perhaps the greatest of modern exegetes. "Paul," he observes, "describes his own sufferings as *afflictions of Christ*, in so far as the apostolic suffering in essential character was the same as Christ endured. The collective mass of these afflictions is conceived in the form of a definite measure. He only who has suffered all has filled up that measure." And he gives the following interpretation to the passage: "I rejoice on account of the sufferings which I endure for you, and am in the course of furnishing the complete fulfilment of what in my case still remains in arrear of fellowship of affliction with Christ." The same view has been adopted by Schleiermacher, Huther, Winer, and other distinguished German theologians.

There are numerous passages in Scripture which seem to confirm this view. Thus St. Paul expresses his desire "to know Christ, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death." And again he says: "As the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolations also abound by Christ." "If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him." There is therefore a similarity almost amounting to identity between the sufferings of Christ and the sufferings of believers. When a man endures any loss, or pain, or persecution, for righteousness' sake, which he might have escaped but for his devotion to Christ and Christ's will, he is a partaker of Christ's sufferings, a fellow-traveller with Him along that path of sorrow which leads to glory. Thus he, on his part, fills up in his flesh that portion of the afflictions of Christ which has been allotted to him, not for his own discipline in righteousness alone,

but also for the edification of his fellow-believers, "for his body's sake, which is the church." This view, however, though it approaches, does not come up to, the full meaning of the passage. The afflictions of Christian men may certainly, in an important sense, be called the afflictions of Christ; but, according to this view, they are not his in point of fact, but only metaphorically and analogically: they are only sufferings which *resemble* those of Christ. So that, in reality, this view gives a figurative interpretation to Christ's sufferings, and so far is forced and unnatural. The words appear to demand that the phrase "the afflictions of Christ" should denote the afflictions which He Himself actually endured or endures. And, moreover, this view hardly gives any distinct sense to the principal clause in the Verse—*filling up that which is behind*, or lacking, in the afflictions of Christ. The idea of deficiency in the suffering of Christ Himself—a deficiency that must be made good—is overlooked or omitted. And hence we are disposed to reject this view also as not sufficiently exhaustive.

4. A fourth view is that which considers the afflictions of Christ as his own afflictions in his body, the Church. According to this view, the afflictions of Christ are not those which He personally endured while He was on the earth, but those which He now mystically endures in heaven—a view which is supported, if not justified, by the explanatory words, "for his body's sake, which is the church." These words are held to afford the key of the whole passage. Christ's body, the Church, has its complement of suffering to endure; and St. Paul, as a member of that body, by his sufferings filled up *his* part, which was wanting in

the way of completion, though not in the way of substitution.

Christ, who once suffered in his person, still suffers in his Church. There is a mystical union between Him and his people, a principle of identity. The Church is his body, and if one member of the body suffers, all the members suffer with it. Thus our Lord, when He encountered Paul on his way to Damascus, accused him of persecuting, not his Church, but Himself. "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." There is a living sympathy between Christ and his people. "In all their afflictions he is afflicted." And these sufferings of Christ's body have to be filled up; *i.e.*, every member of that body has a certain measure of suffering allotted to him, and must do his part in the common work. The sufferings of the whole Church, from its birth down to the end of time, is the measure which requires to be filled up; and each believer adds his *quotum*, until at length, when the measure is filled up, Christ's body, as He Himself, will be received into glory everlasting.

This is the view adopted by many of our most distinguished commentators and Biblical critics, — by Chrysostom and Augustine in the ancient Church; by Calvin, Luther, and Melancthon among the Reformers; by Bengel, Whitby, and Doddridge; and, more recently, by Olshausen, De Wette, Alford, Ellicott, Wordsworth, Conybeare, and Eadie. "As," says Calvin, "Christ has once suffered in his own person, so He suffers daily in his members, and in this way there are filled up those sufferings which his Father hath appointed for his body the Church." "The afflictions of Christ," observes Olshausen, "can be understood subjectively of the

mystical Christ alone ; that is, of Christ so far as He fills the Church with his life and being. The Church of Christ, which had suffered much from the very beginning, is to endure more suffering still by the dispensation of God : a certain measure of suffering is allotted her, which must be filled up. St. Paul supplied that deficiency on his part by his sufferings in his flesh." "All the tribulations of Christ's body," observes Dean Alford, "are Christ's tribulations. Whatever the Church has to suffer, even to the end, she suffers for her perfection in holiness and her completion in Him ; and the tribulations of Christ will not be complete till the last pang shall have past and the last tear have been shed. Every suffering saint of God in every age and position is in fact filling up, in his place and degree, the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, and on behalf of his body. Not a pang, not a tear, is in vain."

But before we adopt this view, several objections have to be considered and answered. (1) Such a view, it is said, gives a figurative interpretation of the afflictions of Christ: it refers not to those which He endures in person, but to those which He endures, metaphorically, in his Church ; whereas we ought to take "the afflictions of Christ" as personal and real. But to this it may be replied that the interpretation is hardly figurative. The Scriptures speak of Christ as actually suffering in his members. *How* this is the case ; whether there is actual suffering, or whether there is a mere accommodation to our weaknesses, we do not know ; but still the analogy of Scripture justifies us in taking St. Paul's words in the sense for which we contend. (2) It is affirmed that such a view introduces an unmeaning tautology into the text, compelling us to read it as

follows : " Who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up in my flesh that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in his body for the sake of his body which is the Church." And certainly, at first sight, this appears to be the case ; but, on a closer examination, the tautology will somewhat disappear. The sufferings of each believer, and pre-eminently the sufferings of St. Paul, were not only a filling up of the complement of the afflictions of Christ's body, but were, moreover, and in addition, for the sake of the body, tending to its edification and perfection. (3) It is asserted that the idea of Christ suffering in the sufferings of his people is nowhere found in the New Testament. " He lives in his people ; his heart beats in them ; He is mighty in them when they are weak ; He is their hope, their life, their victory ; but nowhere is it stated that He suffers in them. Crucified through weakness, He lives at the right hand of God, exalted above all heavens, beyond the reach of further suffering." But this, as we have already shewn, is not so. Does not the risen Christ accuse Paul when persecuting his disciples of persecuting Himself, as if He Himself suffered in the persecutions of his people ? Is He not repeatedly said to sympathize with us, and does not sympathy presuppose a certain degree of suffering ? We cannot tell how the sufferings of his people affect the exalted Saviour ; but, whether in reality, or, anthropologically, in condescension to our weakness, suffering is ascribed to Him ; and our ignorance must not be allowed to deprive us of the rich consolation which the conviction of his sympathy affords us : for what can more effectually sustain us under the wrongs and sorrows of time than the assurance that so often as we suffer for righteousness' sake, He suffers in us and with us ?

Upon the whole, then, we hold that the objections brought against this view of our passage are not insuperable, and are constrained to adopt it as the true interpretation. And, assuredly, it is of all views the most consolatory and sustaining. However mysterious the idea, we believe that Christ suffers in and with us, that He sympathizes in all our sorrows. There is a vital chord which unites Him with us, as the Head to the body. Though He has gone up on high, to reassume the glory He had with his Father before the world was, He feels for his suffering brethren on earth, and is not unmindful of their sorrows. The perfections of his divinity do not obliterate the sympathies of his humanity. "We have not," writes the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "a high priest who cannot be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, but one who was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

PATON J. GLOAG.

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A NEW TESTAMENT COMMENTARY FOR ENGLISH READERS. Vol. I. *Edited by C. F. Ellicott, D.D.* (London: Cassell and Co.) Much has been done of late, far more than ever before, to put the best results of scholarship and erudition at the service of those students of the Bible who command none but their mother tongue. Never were the Scriptures so much read as now; never was it so easy, at least for the unlearned, to read them "with the understanding." But of all the aids to an intelligent study of the Gospels none is comparable with this last addition to the commentaries on the New Testament. It may be doubted, indeed, whether even those who are familiar with both Greek and German possess, in any one volume, a commentary on the Gospels so valuable as this: certainly no commentary designed "for English readers" comes anywhere near it, whether for spiritual insight and suggestiveness, or exact scholarship, or wide erudition, or resolute handling of difficulties, or that fearless

freedom of interpretation which springs from an absolute confidence in the sanctity and power of truth.

The learned Editor is to be congratulated on having secured the services of a scholar of such eminence and proved ability, of gifts so varied and remarkable, as Professor Plumptre, who here annotates the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. Never so happy, never at least so likely to win popular favour and confidence, as when he comments on an entire Scripture, the Professor has excelled himself in his "notes" on these three Gospels. For the Biblical and expository essays by which he has hitherto made himself most widely known, he has very naturally chosen recondite or out-of-the-way themes, not themes staled by perpetual handling; and in his treatment of these themes he has displayed so much ingenuity and subtlety of thought, he has traced so many slender and unsuspected threads of connection binding distant facts and passages together, as to give rise to an impression that his conjectures are apt to be too ingenious, his interpretations somewhat fanciful and far-fetched. Those who have yielded to this impression have forgotten that when a Biblical scholar of any power and originality of mind is free to choose his own themes, he is likely to prefer for public discussion, not topics which have been worn threadbare, but those which are most novel and striking, those in which he may hope a little to advance the lines of previous knowledge, or those which in his judgment most need illustration. And assuredly, as they read this exposition of the Synoptical Gospels, they will be compelled very largely to modify and supplement their impression of him. For while they will find in it all the old subtlety of thought, and the same power of seizing on delicate hints and detecting unsuspected connections, they will also find that he can tread the beaten path with a free and peculiar grace; that when he deals with texts and incidents the most familiar he is no less competent to handle them than passages and themes the most recondite: that he sheds new light upon them, and makes them fresh and quick and powerful without either forcing them from their natural bent or shewing any impatience of accepted and traditional interpretations. No difficulty is evaded in this volume, and no difficulty is created in order that it may be triumphantly solved. He neither perplexes us or wastes our attention by accumulating the opinions of previous commentators that he may dismiss them with lordly superiority; nor, on the other hand, does he shrink from discussing them when discussion is imperatively required. With remarkable breadth—apparent, above all, in his handling of the eschatological passages of our Lord's discourses,—he combines sobriety and reverence. His tone is high, generous,

devout. His style is succinct, yet full and suggestive. In fine, he here presents us with work so good, so unprecedentedly good, that for once the critic is beggared of his usual function and has nothing left him but to admire.

The Gospel of St. John has been assigned to Professor Watkins, who was, I believe, a favourite pupil of Dr. Plumptre's a few years since, and is now his friend and colleague. If it be true that in this commentary we have the work of a 'prentice hand, it must be admitted that the new, is a very valuable, addition to the scanty band of Biblical expositors who write "for the English reader." His style is not so finished as that of Dr. Plumptre's, nor his judgment so ripe, nor his erudition so wide ; but he is endowed with a spiritual insight and a sensitiveness to all high and noble spiritual conceptions and impressions which singularly qualify him for expounding the "spiritual" or "heavenly" Gospel. For English readers there is no commentary on the fourth Gospel that can compete with his, which, in its general spirit and tone, indeed, bears a remarkable resemblance to those that precede it.

It is matter for regret that the Editor contributes to this volume nothing but an admirably written Preface, and that his name is not on the list of contributors to the forthcoming volume. Those who degraded Dr. Ellicott from a commentator to a bishop, and set him to rule a diocese instead of leaving him to write expositions which would have sensibly enriched the catholic Church throughout the world, have much to answer for. In his Preface, however, admirable as it is, the Bishop advances one claim to which I must demur. He claims for this commentary, or series of commentaries, that it is new—new in kind and aim—and makes this claim with some iteration and emphasis. Now, not to mention certain expositions of books, or parts, of Scripture which have appeared in this Magazine, I think I could name nearly a dozen commentaries, prior to this, yet constructed on very much the same lines, and aiming at the very ends which give their special character to the four most admirable commentaries contained in this volume.

I ought to add, perhaps, that the volume is an unusually handsome one ; that type, paper, method of arrangement—its whole get up, in short, reflects great credit on the Firm which issues it.

It does not often fall to a critic to have two new and important works on his table at the same time which he can praise without reserve ; but, for once, I find myself in that happy but uninteresting position. Volumes I., II., and III. of a COMMENTARY ON THE

GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN, *by Dr. F. Godet* (of Neuchâtel), *translated*, and thoroughly well translated, *by Frances Crombie and M. D. Cusin*, have recently been published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark, of Edinburgh. And, in its way, this work is equally admirable with the volume noticed above. But it is intended mainly, though not exclusively, for another class of readers. Only scholars can reap the full benefit of a book in which Hebrew and Greek are quoted and discussed whenever it is necessary. But it would be a mistake to suppose that even the English reader can derive no benefit from Godet's work. The main drift of his exposition may easily be gathered by those who read neither Greek nor Hebrew, as may that of most commentaries in which those languages are employed for use, and not for show. And it is well worth while to make an effort to secure so much as that. For as there are few living commentators whose works are so valuable as those of Professor Godet, so also there is no one of his works so valuable as this. He is here at his best; and it is the best of one of the best and best-furnished minds of the day. The readers of the EXPOSITOR have often had a taste of his quality. In the second volume of this Magazine, indeed, a translation was given of the elaborate and masterly disquisition on the Prologue of St. John's Gospel with which the commentary opens. All that follows is worthy of that noble opening. Let our readers but refer to this translation, and they will find far more in it to set them hungering and thirsting for the complete work than they could gather from any brief notice or review. I have just spoken of Professor Watkin's exposition of St. John as incomparable *for English readers*. But not only must the qualification of that sentence be borne in mind: it should also be pointed out that his commentary is in the form of notes, admirably full and suggestive indeed, but still notes, and notes of the briefest: whereas Professor Godet's is an elaborate commentary which deals with all difficulties at length, and which breaks out, at every touch of need, into a learned, elaborate, and masterly excursus.

I cannot break off without congratulating all ministers and preachers of the Word on the acquisition of a sufficient apparatus for the study of the Gospels. Ten years ago, strange to say, one knew not where to look for any accessible and really valuable exposition of any one of the Gospels. That reproach to our English Biblical literature is now, happily, taken away. Any lover of the Word who has Dr. Morison on St. Matthew and St. Mark, and Dr. Godet on St. Luke and St. John, and will add to these the New Testament Commentary

which Messrs. Cassell and Co. have just published, will find himself thoroughly furnished for the study of those priceless gifts from Heaven.

THE TALMUD. *By Joseph Barclay, D.D.* (London: John Murray.) This volume is not a treatise on the Talmud, as from its title one might expect it to be; nor is it, of course, a translation of the whole Talmud. It is simply a translation of certain treatises selected from the Mishna, with a few brief explanations drawn from the Gemara and from other sources. The treatises are selected, says the author or translator, with a view to "illustrate Bible teaching," and he has attempted "to present them in a literal and readable form." But the task has been too much for him. In his translation, as in the original, these treatises are wellnigh *unreadable*; and the one Biblical fact they illustrate above all others is the charge alleged or implied against the Rabbis in the New Testament, that they had imposed on the Law a series of tedious, burdensome, self-contradictory, and most undivine precepts which it was impossible that any man could bear. Some illustrations of the Mosaic ritual, as observed and depraved in subsequent generations, may indeed be derived from these insufferable treatises; and some fine sayings, now precious for their wit, and again for a tone of noble morality, may be picked up among the sayings of the Jewish Fathers, though the best of these are much more finely rendered by Dr. Deutsch than by Dr. Barclay. But in the whole volume I have only found two illustrations of Scripture, both of them given in footnotes, which are likely to be of much interest to the general reader, while the scholar, who *must* study the Talmud for himself, will of course prefer to go to the original.

These illustrations, the one on the offering of the first-fruits, and the other on the worship of Molech, I hope to cite in these pages before long. A few more such "notes" would have been worth far more than all the tedious and dreary translations on which Dr. Barclay has expended so much learning and labour.

S. COX.

*SHORT PAPERS UPON THE PROPHET
JEREMIAH.*

NO. I.—JEREMIAH'S CALL.

THE prophecy of Jeremiah is one of those books of Holy Scripture too generally neglected. It does not bear directly, except in one or two passages, upon our Lord's life and mission; it does not give expression to our devotional feelings, as do the Psalms: and though it possesses a special beauty of its own, it has none of that warmth of feeling, or splendour of diction, or wealth of imagery, which places Isaiah on the roll of those great writers whose genius will throughout all ages reach unto and influence the deepest springs of the human heart. And yet Jeremiah has deep feeling: it is a human heart which tells us in his pages of its sorrow. We see the workings of that heart, see it so overwrought that the gentle backward nature of the man is from time to time stirred within him until he is carried along in a torrent of irrepressible emotion. The personal character of no one of the prophets stands out so plainly and distinctly before us as that of Jeremiah, and it is Jeremiah's personal character which is so interesting. Others far surpass him in poetry, in oratory, and even in the revelations which they were commissioned to declare; but of the men themselves we know little. In the prophecy of Jeremiah our interest centres in the man.

His office was a sad one. Slowly, step by step, Judæa was sinking down to national ruin. Hezekiah and Isaiah had tried to arrest that ruin, but on Hezekiah's death the corruption of the people burst forth into open riot and excess during the early years of the child Manasseh. In his later years that king's repentance may have somewhat arrested the national decay. At all events, Judæa had become a prosperous little nation again when Josiah ascended the throne. It had had a long period of rest, but evidently, though not so defiantly wicked as at first, it had not really changed its ways. And God was pleased once again to give it a louder call to repentance, and his instruments this time also were a king and a prophet, both young, both earnest sincere men; but the king, active, eager, high-spirited, resolute, impetuous; the prophet, desponding, melancholy, shrinking ever backward, working without hope, yet beneath this feeble exterior having a will more determined and unyielding than that of the king himself.

It was a critical time when Jeremiah was called to be a prophet. Men were congratulating themselves upon the salvation of the nation, just as we are wont to congratulate ourselves upon the revival of religion among us. It was the thirteenth year of Josiah, and for three years the young king had been doing his utmost to reform and purify the Church. He was but eight years old when he succeeded his father, and after a pause of ten years he set himself in his early manhood to bring the people back to the worship of the true God. He was thus in the full tide of his enterprise when three years afterwards God called Jeremiah to take part in the work. As he speaks of himself

when the call came as a *child*, or, more exactly, a *lad*, he was probably somewhat younger than the king. And thus it was two youths—a king aged twenty-one, a prophet aged sixteen or seventeen—who set themselves to the great work of reforming the Jewish nation and restoring it to its true place. Nor did they work in vain; for though the people hardened themselves in their sins till the chastising armies of Babylon came, and for a time quenched the national life, yet the return from Babylon and the piety of Ezra and his companions was their doing. Could Jeremiah have seen the long train of forty-two thousand exiles returning to their wasted land, to rebuild city and temple, saddened as he would have been at the thought of the hundreds of thousands that had perished, yet he could not have felt that his labour had been without effect. Painful as would have been the comparison between the victorious host of warriors led by Joshua to the conquest of Canaan and the weary exiles, defending themselves by prayer, and coming home to a country empty and desolate, he would yet have felt that they carried the same great hope with them, and, equally with Moses and Joshua, were the ministers of God's high purpose. The salvation of man was bound up with the return from Babylon, and that return was Jeremiah's work.

Let me first say a word about his parentage, and then proceed to his call to the prophetic office.

We learn that Jeremiah's father was a priest named Hilkiah, and that his birthplace was Anathoth. This was a village situated about three miles to the north of Jerusalem, and was inhabited entirely by priests and their families. For it was not the Jewish custom for the clergy to dwell everywhere, dispersed over the

whole land, as it is with us now, but they were gathered into a few towns, where the property and the fields round to a certain distance belonged to them. Their business was to go in turns to Jerusalem, to minister there, whilst the duty of teaching religion to the young was left to the heads of every household. (Exod. xlii. 14; Deut. iv. 9, vi. 7, 20.) They performed this duty so ill that the nation was ever lapsing into idolatry; but after the return from captivity synagogues were established in every city, and in them prayers were offered, and the Scriptures read, and sermons preached, every Sabbath day. And from this time there was no more lusting after idolatry. It was the teaching of the synagogues which kept the Jews firm in their allegiance to one God.

Both Clement, bishop of Alexandria, and Jerome tell us that Jeremiah's father was the high priest Hilkiah who found in the temple the book of the Law (2 Kings xxii. 8); and there is much to confirm this tradition. Jeremiah is always treated with so great respect, even by bad kings and princes, that in spite of the scourging given him by the deputy high priest Pashur and his being put in the stocks, we discern plainly that there was much of dignity and rank about him. His prophetic office alone would not have ensured him such deference. And if his father was thus the high priest, we should have the interesting picture of the youthful king accompanied in his tour round the cities of Judah by the even more youthful son of the chief pastor of the Church, both earnestly striving to win the nation back to purity and holiness, and to the worship of that God in whose service alone purity and holiness are to be found.

But before Jeremiah undertook so serious a duty, he was solemnly called to it by God. We may suppose him often deeply musing upon the condition of the Jewish people. Three years previously the Book of the Law, probably the original copy laid up in the ark, had been found in the general search caused by the repairs of the temple. Its discovery and the public reading of it had produced an extraordinary effect upon both king and prophet. All men talked of nothing else. Especially the twenty-eighth Chapter of Deuteronomy—containing such vivid pictures of the effects of siege and famine, and threatening the destruction of both nation and city in case they fell into idolatry—must have strongly affected them. They had so fallen. Was there still hope, or must the nation's sin be purified by suffering? At all events, they would repent and make a solemn covenant with Jehovah, by which they bound themselves to put away their idols and observe all the ordinances of the Mosaic Law (2 Kings xxiii. 3). This national act greatly impressed Jeremiah, and the Book of Deuteronomy evidently became his favourite study. As Hilkiah's son, he would have constant access to it, and his writings abound with words and phrases, and even whole sentences, taken from it. From this discovery of the Book of the Law we may date that inner working of Jeremiah's mind which prepared him to be Jehovah's prophet.

Again and again, we may be sure, had Jeremiah meditated upon the subject, and felt his heart moved to join the king in his work. Yet when the call came it was in a way he did not expect. The word of Jehovah came to him and told him that even before his birth, God, in his Divine foreknowledge, had set him

apart for this very duty, and ordained him as "a prophet unto the nations." And he shrank back in alarm. "Alas, O Lord God!" he says, "behold, I cannot speak : for I am a child." How could he, a timid lad, go and deliver God's message as one in authority? He might have helped the king, and laboured under his direction. He was called to be a co-ordinate power, with the spiritual authority vested in him, as the secular authority belonged to the king.

It was this independent authority which so often made the post of prophet no easy office nor free from danger. Manasseh, determined to rule alone, had put to death every prophet who had spoken in Jehovah's name in his father's days, and the people had looked on with apathy or even with approval. Everywhere around him Jeremiah saw "upon the skirts of their garments the blood of the souls of the poor innocents" (Chap. ii. 34). But it was not fear which made the young priest shrink back; it was the sense of his unfitness for so high an office: and therefore God did not reprove his backwardness, but encouraged him, and gave him noble promises of help, and touched his mouth, as the sign that henceforward his words were consecrated to Jehovah's service.

In my next paper I shall say a few words upon the two visions which followed upon Jeremiah's solemn appointment to his office. In this I shall content myself with pointing out the remarkable contrast which exists between his call and those of Isaiah and Ezekiel. At an age equally youthful with that of Jeremiah, Isaiah beheld a vision which to this day wraps our minds in astonishment. He saw in the temple a lofty throne floating in the air, whereon the Deity seemed to sit,

while flowing garments of light and glory descended from it, and filled with their brightness the whole space around. Above and at each side were seraphim, beings with bodies as of transparent fire, each with six wings; with twain whereof each covered his face, in awe of the Divine majesty; with twain each covered his feet, acknowledging thereby the imperfection of his nature and of his services; and with twain each did fly, ready with instant motion to obey the commands of God. And all joined in the hymn of praise, "Holy, holy, holy, is Jehovah of hosts : the whole earth is full of his glory."

Equally sublime is the vision which Ezekiel saw when he was appointed to be a prophet ; but it has all that mysteriousness and intricacy and fulness of detail which so often make his predictions more than human intellect can fathom. He was a captive, living in exile in Babylonia ; and as he walked on the bank of the river Chebar he seemed to behold a whirlwind approaching him from the north, but it was a whirlwind of blazing fire. Flames shot out from it on every side, while in the centre was an appearance of the colour of deep-blue steel, forming the nucleus whence these flames issued. As it drew near, four living creatures came forth, each four-sided, and having on each side four wings, so that they were perfect and complete, view them which way you would. Each one, moreover, had four different faces, on each side one; on the right hand that of a man and that of a lion, representing intelligence and courage; on the left that of an eagle, gifted with the piercing vision which penetrates into all mysteries, and that of the ox, the type of patient strength labouring in God's service. They had wings, but needed not to use them, because wherever they willed to go, thither of their

mere will they went. Beneath were wheels, or rather globes, turning round every way, bright and sparkling as beryls, and obedient to the thought of these glorious beings, moving without effort, of their own accord; while upborne by them was a throne, whereon sat the Most High.

In Jeremiah's vision there is no splendour, no gorgeous imagery. All is calm, simple, quiet, but full of meaning and purpose. And such was the whole man. As we study his acts and words we shall find just one great principle underlying all his conduct, and that was to do his duty. Never was man more conscientious; and however timid his feelings, however anxious and mistrusting he might be, foreboding only failure, hopeless, despondent, yet neither his own fears nor the threats of others could turn him away from doing that which he knew he ought to do. And so at his call. Though he shrank back from it in dismay, yet no sooner did he understand that it was God's will than he yielded himself, reluctantly indeed, yet thoroughly, to the Almighty's service. And it is in this that the interest of his character chiefly lies. He was not one of those men of genius who move mankind by special and extraordinary gifts. On the contrary, he was in most things on a level with ordinary men. Yet he was the man whom God chose to be his messenger at a time of more than ordinary difficulty and danger. And Wisdom was justified in him, as in all her children; for he brought to God's service the best of all offerings, namely, the simple wish to do whatever in him lay to obey God's commands. He was single-minded and self-denying, and in his singleness of purpose lay the secret of his strength.

R. PAYNE SMITH.

*THE LAWS OF THE KINGDOM AND THE
INVITATION OF THE KING.*

II.—THE SECOND LAW.—ST. MATTHEW xi. 27.

THE First Law of Christ's kingdom, which we have already seen lays down the terms of admission into that kingdom, is in accordance with all his teaching. His object was not to put a new doctrine in the place of the old; "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil," is the key-note to all his teaching: but He came to implant a new life in the midst of corruption and death. Other teachers have attempted to propagate new ideas, new beliefs, and even to change the laws by which the society they lived in was governed: Christ sought to change men themselves, and through the inward personal regeneration of the individual to effect the regeneration of the whole race. This obviously far transcends the office, as it transcends the conception, of every human teacher. And this new life He would impart not merely to theologians, but to all men who were willing to receive it. It was not therefore a theology. Nor did he intend it only for thinkers, and hence it was not a matter to be comprehended by the intellect: it was no subject of speculation. On the contrary, it was antagonistic to the pride of the speculative understanding. He intended it for, He offered it to, all: it was in its nature accessible to all, most of all to those who were least under the influence of philosophical systems, least conversant with the wisdom of this world.

The First Law of the Kingdom is that the revelation of God is made only to humility. The Second Law of the Kingdom is that the revelation is made only in

Christ. "All things are delivered to me of my Father: and no man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any one the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to make the revelation."

All things are delivered unto me. Two questions arise on these words. What are the "all things"? When were they "delivered"? (1) The "all things" do not mean "the babes" of the previous verse, nor yet exclusively the whole administration of the Messianic kingdom. The "all things" are to be taken in their largest sense. Christ is the one Mediator between God and his creation. He is the Eternal Word, by whom the heavens and the earth were made, as well as the Son, in whom the Father has been made manifest unto men. The "all things" comprise the whole revelation of God, whether in nature or in grace; for this has been made through Him, and through Him alone. Three worlds are his. He has all power in heaven and in earth; He has the keys of Hades and death. (2) It follows, in the next place, that the aorist (*παρεδόθη*) does not refer to a single past act in time, such as the entrance of the Incarnate Son into the world, or the beginning of his earthly ministry. It is strictly and properly used of a timeless act. It is the act, not in time, by which the Father constituted the Son the Mediator between the unseen God and the whole visible creation; the act by virtue of which through Him the worlds were made, as well as the act by which He gave Him authority over all flesh, that He should give eternal life to all that the Father had given Him (John xvii. 2). His mediatorial position He derives from the Father; the Father has bestowed it upon Him: but with it He has also bestowed the plenary power of

the government and administration of the mediatorial kingdom. There is a subordination; for He says, "That he may give eternal life to as many as *thou hast given him*." There is a personal sovereignty, an individual supremacy; for He says, "No man knoweth the Father, but he to whom the Son *willeth* (*βούληται*) to make the revelation." His power is "given" unto Him, but it is "all power in heaven and in earth."

How completely the Second Law of the Kingdom corresponds to the First! If the revelation is made to the heart, to the sense of need, to the moral and spiritual nature rather than to the intellect, is not this in exact accordance with the fact that that which is proposed for the acceptance of men is not a string of dogmas, but a Person, a Person who reveals God as a Father, a Person who is the Incarnation of Divine Love, and therefore is the object not of intellectual speculation but of personal attachment? "The pivot of the Gospel," it has been truly said, "is not a formula, a principle, an idea more or less noble; it is the Person of Jesus itself, but the living Person, whose regenerating action each one may feel within him, and not the metaphysical Person, which has been reduced by the definitions of a scholastic theology to nothing better than an abstract and incomprehensible notion." It is this Person, human and Divine, having the most intimate personal relationship to the Father, appearing in form and fashion as man, through whom alone the revelation of God to man is possible. He alone, as the Son of God, possesses that absolute and perfect knowledge¹

¹ The verb *ἐπιγινώσκειν* does not necessarily denote this. But it is used frequently, as is the noun *ἐπίγνωσις*, of inward and spiritual discernment. See, for instance, for the verb, Matt. xiv. 35, xvii. 12; Mark ii. 8, *ἐπιγινούς ὁ Ἰ. τῷ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ*, v. 30, *ἐπιγινούς ἐν αὐτῷ*; Col. i. 6; 2 Pet. ii. 21; and very strikingly in 1 Cor.

of the Father which must be possessed by One who is to declare Him to others: He alone, as the Son of Man, can so present, so bring near, God to men, that they can learn to acknowledge Him as a Father. Both these truths are involved in our Lord's words in this verse. First, "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son." There He claims an exclusive prerogative of knowledge. Whatever knowledge of God others in the form of men may attain to, it is a knowledge imparted, a knowledge acquired through faith and repentance; a relative, not an absolute knowledge: with Him it is a privilege of nature. Next, "All things are delivered to me of my Father. . . . No one knoweth the Father but he to whom the Son will reveal him." In these words He claims to be not merely the sole channel of the revelation of God, but to have the absolute disposal of it in his hands. The language of the verse, it has been often remarked, is strikingly like the language of St. John. In this passage and the corresponding passage of St. Luke (Chap. x. 22) we have the connecting link between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel in relation to the Person of Jesus. That Gospel is a comment on these words. The doctrine of that Gospel concerning the pre-existence and Divine Nature of the Son is little more than a repetition, it can scarcely be called an expansion, of

xiii. 12, where the Apostle does not expect even in a future life to have an absolutely perfect knowledge of God, which no creature can have, but only the full inward illumination, free from all let or hindrance by reason of sin, an intimate and immediate rather than a perfect knowledge; and for the noun, Rom. iii. 20, "the knowledge of sin;" Eph. iv. 13, "the knowledge of the Son of God" (where *ἐπίγνωσις* is used of the knowledge of believers, as *ἐπιγινώσκουν* in our passage of the Father and the Son); Col. i. 10; 1 Tim. ii. 4; 2 Pet. i. 2, 8; and many other passages. In the parallel passage in St. Luke (Chap. x. 22) the verb is *γινώσκει*, as it is also in the Patristic quotations. See note at the end of this Exposition.

what we find here. The words of St. John—"No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him"—are a mere variation of the statement in St. Matthew. They assert the same exclusive knowledge of the Father, the same personal revelation by the Son. Our Lord's own words, as given in that Gospel, do not transcend his testimony concerning Himself here. In reply to Philip's demand, "Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us," what is his answer? "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me, Philip? He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father? Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?" In this passage, as in the one under consideration in St. Matthew, the great central thought is the same, that the perfect and adequate expression to man of God is only to be found in Christ. In both there is asserted a deep inner union between the Father and the Son, such as does not exist between any created being and God. In both there is the same assertion of an exclusive Revelation through the Son. The only difference is that the relation which in St. Matthew is described as one of mutual intimate knowledge, in St. John is described as one of mutual indwelling. But the paramount claim, the absolute self-assertion, is the same in both. And whatever may be said elsewhere of the indwelling of God in holy men, or of the knowledge of God to which they attain, yet this is invariably represented as a gift, as an acquisition, not as an inherent and inalienable right. The holiest man that has ever lived has never dared to say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;"

or to assert, "No man cometh to the Father but by me."

The First Law of the Kingdom was, we saw, in harmony with the law by which all knowledge is acquired. Humility is the gate of all knowledge, human as well as Divine.

The Second Law, it may be affirmed with equal truth, is established by all the facts of human history. That history has been, no doubt, in one respect a perpetual wandering from God, but it has also been in another respect a perpetual seeking after God, if haply men might find Him. And it is no less certain that God has met this need, that He has ever in some measure revealed Himself to man. By the visible creation, by the conscience within, by the sense of duty and responsibility, by the voice of teachers, to whom a larger illumination was given than to the mass of mankind—God has spoken to man.

In different ages and in different degrees God has been pleased to impart to certain persons a knowledge of Himself not vouchsafed to others. Nor were these revelations confined to one race, the Jewish, though bestowed upon it in a larger degree than upon others. The founders of religious systems, like Zoroaster and Confucius, like Sakya Muni and Mohammed, have either claimed themselves to possess, or have been credited by others with the possession of, supernatural communications whence they derived any truth they possessed. Teachers like Plato and Socrates had an insight and a wisdom not their own. The histories of Melchizedek and Balaam seem written as if to warn us how we narrow the sphere of Divine Revelation. It is indeed impossible to read the sayings of Indian

sages, containing so many striking parallels to our Lord's words in the Gospels,¹ or the Divine guesses of Plato, without feeling that God did not leave Himself without witness in human hearts, as well as in the order of creation. Still, all the utterances of truth which have come from the best of human masters have been only broken fragments mingled with base alloy, gleams of light crossed and darkened by human passion and error. No Master but One has ever shewn us the Father. There is but One who could say, "I do always such things as please the Father;" but One who could say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

And that which to every serious and thoughtful mind must establish his claim is this, that He has so manifested God by his words and his works, in his life and in his death, that not only has no other ever approached either his character or his teaching, but that the one and the other are practically infinite in their instruction. Is it not the unquestionable fact that no discovery has ever been made in religion or in morals which is not explicitly or implicitly contained in the teaching of Christ, and that the heart has never formed any lawful aspiration which He does not satisfy? There is no morality like the morality of the gospel. The greatest masters have admitted its unapproachable purity and majesty; none have been able to add to it or to alter it. All that is left for men is to study and practise it, with the perpetual consciousness of coming short. Nor has any discovery been made concerning God and his relation to man which can for a moment be put in competition with that which is made to us in

¹ See Dr. J. Mair's "Religious and Moral Sentiments from Sanskrit Writers."

Christ. We may, of course, reject this, but it will not be to choose any other system in preference. Either the character of God has been revealed in Jesus Christ, or it has never been revealed at all.

He whose whole life bears witness to his words, He who is the spotless mirror of truth and righteousness, makes this affirmation concerning Himself: "No man knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son willeth to reveal (Him)." He who is "meek and lowly in heart" does not, in false humility, deny his true dignity. He tells us plainly that we cannot find out God for ourselves, that we shall weary ourselves in vain if we make the attempt, that He only can shew us the Father. May it not be worth while to listen to Him? May it not be worth while to recognize these fundamental laws of His kingdom, and to act upon them, instead of beginning with cavils and objections? In all the attempts that men are now making to solve the problems which never can be solved by the human intellect, they fail, and must fail, because they refuse to bow to the Laws in accordance with which alone any revelation is possible. They have learnt a better wisdom in their study of the physical universe. Let us hope the time may come when the laws of the spiritual and moral universe will obtain due recognition, and when men will confess that the first step to any true Divine knowledge lies in submission to the laws of the Divine kingdom, not in resistance to them. To this result we may hope that all the struggles and failures of men are tending. When men find that all these weary attempts to discover God end in disappointment, when they have honestly and without reserve admitted that no revelation of moral truth can be hoped

for beyond that which has been given in Jesus of Nazareth, they may perchance at last learn to adopt his method. The secret of Jesus is to be found here. The laws of his kingdom may not be such as we, in the pretentiousness of our self-wisdom, should have expected or thought most desirable. As the philosophers of old could conceive of no centre of the universe but the earth, so we can conceive of no centre but ourselves. But Christ lifts our thoughts into another sphere, bids us take a far wider range, points us to the great central Sun round which all the parts of the system are grouped, and thus in the light of this new revelation we see how all the several parts fall into their proper harmony and order. When we have submitted to this revelation, when we have acknowledged its Laws, we shall have shewn ourselves worthy to listen to the invitation which follows.

NOTE.—I have reserved till the last the discussion of the different readings of this passage in order to leave the exposition clear. The variations are interesting, but whichever reading we adopt, our Lord's testimony to Himself and the value of the passage in its relation to the Fourth Gospel remain the same. There are two principal variations in the text; the one, the transposition of the second and third clauses of the verse, many of the earliest quotations in the Fathers running, "No one knoweth the Father but the Son, neither knoweth any the Son but the Father;" the other, the substitution of the aorist *ἔγνω* for the present *γινώσκει* or *ἐπιγινώσκει*. Other noticeable variations are the perfect *παρεδόται* (Justin Martyr) for *παρεδόθη*; the plural *οἱς ἂν, quibuscupiue*, for *φ' ἐὰν (ἂν)*; and *ἀποκαλύψῃ* for *βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι*.

As I am unable to agree with Dr. Bruce in his rendering of the aorists, *παρεδόθη*, *ἔγνω*, and as there appears to be a little confusion in his quotations from Irenæus, I will subjoin first the forms in which the passage appears in the earliest patristic quotations, and then discuss the use of the aorist. The latter is a question of considerable importance in its bearing on New Testament exegesis, and, I think, has been dealt with much too hastily by commentators.

First, then, for the quotations of the passage. It stands thus in Justin Martyr :—

(1) πάντα μοι παραδέδοται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ δις ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.—*Dial.* c. 100.

(2) οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἷς ἂν ἀποκαλύψῃ ὁ υἱός.—*Apol.* i. c. 63.

These words are quoted again in the same chapter, with no other variation except that the order of the last three words is ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.

It will be observed (*a*) that Justin's order in both passages differs from that of the present text of the Gospels as received by the best editors; (*b*) that he has the perfect *παραδέδοται* instead of the aorist *παρεδόθη*; (*c*) that he has *ἔγνω* in one place, *γινώσκει* in another.

We come now to Irenæus. Quoting the passage as alleged by the Gnostics in proof of their position that "before the coming of Christ no one clearly knew the Father of truth, but only a Creator of the world," he cites it, together with Verses 25, 26, thus :—

(1) πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὃ ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ.—*Lib.* i. 20, § 3.

In another place (where, however, we have only the Latin translation) he introduces his quotation by saying, "Our Lord, shewing Himself to his disciples as the Word which maketh the Father known, and upbraiding the Jews for rejecting the Word through which God is known, said," and then gives the passage as follows:—

(2) *Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis cognoscit nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare.*

"So," he says, "we find the passage in Matthew and Luke, and Mark has exactly the same: John omits it altogether." There is here an obvious slip of memory, and we may infer that the quotation is from memory, and not from a manuscript lying before him. "But," he continues, "they who would be wiser than the apostles give the text as follows (*sic describunt*):"—

(3) *Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius, nec Filium nisi Pater, et cui voluerit Filius revelare.* "And they explain it to mean that the true God was known by no one before the coming of our Lord, and that the God which was preached by the Prophets was not the Father of Christ."—*Lib. iv. c. 6, § 1.*

He quotes the passage twice more in the same chapter, in both places keeping the present tense (in the Latin), but varying the order of the clauses. In § 3, (4) *Nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius, &c.*; in § 7, (5) *Nemo cognoscit Filium, &c.*, and in both having *et quibuscunque Filius revelaverit.*

In the last section he adds the important remark that *revelaverit* must not be taken to refer only to the future, as though the Word then first began to manifest the Father, when He was born of the Virgin Mary; but that it covers all time. "For from the beginning

the Word present with his creation reveals the Father to all to whom the Father willeth, and when He willeth, and as He willeth."

Now what conclusion is to be drawn from these variations? How are we to understand especially what Irenæus says about the heretical text of the passage? It does not differ in any particular from the text as quoted by Irenæus himself. *Cognovit* no doubt represents *ἔγνω* in the original. But so Irenæus quotes the passage with the aorist in 1, and he quotes with the same order of the clauses in 1 and in 4. Besides, as we have seen, Justin Martyr (*Apol.* c. 63) has essentially the same reading, both as regards the aorist and the order of the clauses. Irenæus, therefore, must have had in view the *construction* put upon the passage by the Gnostic heretics (probably the Marcosians) with whom he is contending, and not any heretical *variation of reading*.

In other heretical citations of the words, if the aorist stands in the first clause, the present tense stands in the second. Thus Marcion has, οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις γινώσκει, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.—*Dial. ap. Orig.* § 1, p. 283. But just afterwards the words are quoted, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱὸν κτλ. It does not appear from anything in the argument that Marcion was held to have falsified the text. In the Clementines (*Hom.* xvii. 4) the form is very nearly that of Marcion, except that in the second clause we have ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἱὸν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ κτλ.

These variations, and in particular the fact that where the aorist stands in the first clause the present is found in the second, lead to the conclusion that no stress is to be laid upon the aorist as necessarily marking a

point in past time ; though no doubt it may be more favourable than the present to the Gnostic interpretation, viz., that in past times, before the coming of Christ, none knew God as a Father. Still this did not hinder the Fathers in contending with the Gnostics from adopting the same reading. They evidently treated the tense as indifferent.

As regards *παρεδόθη*, indeed, there is no variation except in Justin.¹ But even if, as is most probable, he quoted from memory, he certainly gave a true and nearly equivalent sense by the perfect *παρεδόται*.² The aorist ought not to be rendered "were delivered," as if pointing to some one specific act. It brings out strongly the fact, without any nice definition of time. The fact here is an eternal fact, not a fact in time at all. And in English, in such a case, the best equivalent is often the present or the perfect. We have, in this same Chapter of St. Matthew (xi. 19), a use of the aorist, which, though not exactly the same as the *παρεδόθη*, yet cannot clearly be confined to a single past act. The words are, *καὶ ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς*, where the aorist does not mean that once, on some particular occasion, Wisdom was justified of her children, but that, on each occasion as the need arises, she is so justified ; and, consequently, our translators are perfectly right in keeping the present, "Wisdom

¹ There is, however, in the parallel passage in St. Luke, where *Kal* have *παρεδόται*. Indeed this fluctuation between the aorist and the perfect is by no means uncommon in the MSS. of the New Testament.

² Even if the act be regarded as past, its results must be regarded as continuing. In the Satanic counter-claim we have *ὅτι ἐμοὶ παρεδόται* (Luke iv. 6), where, however, the act denoted is of course not an eternal fact. Justin does not seem to have felt the distinction between aorist and perfect on which our modern critics insist. But ought we to apply to Hellenists the *jus et norma loquendi* of the classic writers of Attica ?

is justified," &c. And so here they are perfectly right in rendering, "All things are delivered." In the next Chapter (xii. 2, 5), οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε cannot possibly mean, "Did ye not read?" *i.e.*, on one particular past occasion; but it must mean, "Have ye not read?" *i.e.*, whenever that passage has come before you. Hence the proper equivalent of the aorist there is the perfect in English.

In like manner, as regards the use of ἔγνω in the patristic quotations, it is obviously used as the equivalent of the present γινώσκει and οἶδε. And this is abundantly supported by New Testament usage. The aorist is very often equivalent to a present or a perfect, though of course I do not deny that there are many instances in which the strict aorist past is to be retained in translating. But in Luke xvi. 4, ἔγνω τί ποιήσω is exactly our "I *know* what I will do"—a happy thought has just occurred to me—a true and proper aorist. So again, in Luke xxiv. 18 (σὺ μόνος παροικεῖς . . . καὶ οὐκ ἔγνως) the present and the aorist are used with no marked difference, "Art thou a stranger living alone, . . . and *knowest* not?" or still more literally, "Hast not got to know?" &c.

So, again, John xvi. 3: "These things will they do unto you" (ὅτι οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν πατέρα κτλ), "because they *know* not (or, have not known) the Father."

In John xvii. 25, the parallelism with the passage in St. Matthew, so far as regards the use of the aorist, is still more striking (πατὴρ δίκαιε, καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω, ἐγὼ δὲ σε ἔγνω, καὶ οὗτοι ἔγνωσαν ὅτι σύ με ἀπέστειλας), where it is obvious that the aorists cannot be confined to single past acts, but are equivalent to presents or perfects: "The world knoweth thee not, but I know

thee," &c. ; or, as our Version, "The world hath not known thee, but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me." The latter rendering is most in harmony with the verse that follows, where the aorist (*ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου*) can only be translated, "I *have* made known unto them thy name;" that having been not a single act, but the whole work and purpose of Christ's life. The aorist, in short, is the tense which is strictly undefined. The fact of the action is prominent, the moment of the action may be placed anywhere and everywhere along an indefinitely extended line.

I have discussed this question purely from the point of Greek Testament grammar, but I cannot refrain from expressing my conviction that the intensely Hebraistic colouring of the New Testament is nowhere more visible than in the use of the tenses, and that this has been strangely overlooked by the majority of critics. No two languages could be more unlike in their use of tenses than Hebrew and Greek ; the one marking every point of time with subtle exactness, the other almost disregarding time in the peremptory haste with which it seizes upon the action. But it is obvious on this very account that men accustomed to think in Hebrew, with its sublime disregard of exact temporal relations, would not be likely to appreciate or to employ the finer and subtler delicacies of the less familiar tongue. Nor must it be forgotten that the Greek which they would hear and speak was not the Attic tongue of Sophocles and Plato, but a language already debased, and shorn largely of its original exactness, as well as of its original grace and beauty.

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

IV.—THE SECOND COLLOQUY. (CHAPTERS XV.—XX.)

4.—JOB TO BILDAD. (CHAPTER XIX.)

WILLING to wound and yet afraid to strike at Job openly and directly, Bildad had drawn a picture of the wicked man in which, as all that was specific in it, all the individualizing and characteristic touches, were taken from the life, and from the life of Job, he doubtless intended him to recognize himself. And, as he listened, Job had at last divined his intention (Chap. xxi. Verse 27), and had been as deeply wounded by "the heavy accent of that moving tongue" as his Friend could have desired. For, in much, Bildad's description was undeniably true. The points he had laboured most were that the sinner is ultimately abandoned both by God and man, and that his name is utterly forgotten by posterity, or remembered only with horror and amazement. And Job felt both that God *had* forsaken him, and that men, even those who were most bound or most dear to him, had turned against him; he feared, he could not but fear, that *his* name would perish from the earth, or be recalled with a shudder as that of a bold bad man who had dared to strive with his Maker and had been beaten in the strife. Now, as his good name was dear to him; as *that* and "his integrity to Heaven" were all he dare now call his own; as, moreover, "he counted himself in nothing else so happy as in a soul remembering his good friends," insomuch that he had turned to his friends for comfort even when God had forsaken him, we can understand how amazed he was when from the very spring whence comfort

should have flowed to him discomfort swelled ; how impossible he found it to "forget the shames that they had stained him with" by the mouth of Bildad, and how keenly he was wounded when they dived into his soul only to scatter there

Dangers, death, wringing of the conscience,
Fears and despairs.

Nevertheless, wronged and wounded as he is, "the unstooping firmness of his upright soul" will not suffer him either to yield tamely to the misconstruction of the admitted facts of his life which they seek to force upon him, or to turn away his own or other eyes from the contemplation of these facts, however mournful they may be, however suggestive of guilt. With a touch of his old impatient fire he protests (Verses 5, 6) that, if they still maintain his calamities to be the due and fair result of his sins, he must still maintain that they spring from the injustice of the Gôd whose interpreters they affect to be. And then, recalling the "guard of patience" which he has set "between his will and all offences," he turns with resolute courage to look upon the facts from which they have drawn a conclusion so sinister, and to inquire what those facts really mean and portend. He dwells on all the details of his abandonment by God (Verses 7-12), and by man (Verses 13-20), tracing even the faithlessness of his kinsfolk and friends to the unprovoked enmity of God (*cf.* Verse 13), and gives us a most moving and pathetic description of the miseries which that desertion had caused him. He himself is moved by his own most moving words, and breaks out into an appeal to his Friends to have pity on him, whatever they may think of him, beseeching them that, "touched with human gentleness and love," they would,

if but for a moment, "glance an eye of pity on his losses" and griefs, on a misery that has grown intolerable, unspeakable (Verses 21, 22).

But nothing is so hard as an alienated friend, except it be an alarmed and offended bigot. And Job has to deal with both. They sit utterly unmoved by a cry as piercing and pathetic as ever issued from the lips of man. And after a brief pause, the man, the friend, on whom they have now committed the supreme wrong, repulsing the warm generous heart that leaped toward them and driving it to despair, springs clean out of his despair on the wings of an imperishable faith in the God whom they have traduced, and rises to the very climax and triumph of hope. Bildad had threatened him that his name would be forgotten, or that posterity would remember only to execrate him. And, now, Job replies with a formal and deliberate appeal to posterity. He has that to say which the generations that come after him must never forget, since a great truth once revealed is the everlasting heritage of the race. And the great truth he would fain have cut deep on a rock for ever is, *that God is his Goel*; or, rather, the great fact he would have recorded for the comfort of after ages is that, even out of the depths of his despair, he can look up and see a great star of hope shining above his head; that even "through the hollow eyes of death" he "spies life peering," and is assured that on some distant happy day all the wrongs of time will be redressed. "Transported beyond this ignorant present," he "feels the future in the instant," and knows that the God in whom he has already found an Umpire, an Advocate, a Witness, a Surety, will at last reveal Himself as his Redeemer, to clear him of every charge,

and to save him from all evil. God will publicly declare his innocence, and he, even though he die, shall live, and hear that declaration for himself.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. *Then answered Job and said :*
2. *How long will ye rack my soul*
 And break me in pieces with words ?
3. *These ten times have ye insulted me.*
 Shameless that ye are ! Ye astound me.
4. *If it be that I have erred,*
 My error rests with myself :
5. *But if ye will magnify yourselves against me,*
 And urge against me my reproach,
6. *Know ye that God hath wrested my cause,*
 And flung his net about me.
7. *Behold, I exclaim at my wrong, but am not answered ;*
 I cry aloud, but there is no justice !
8. *He hath fenced up my way, that I cannot pass,*
 And set darkness in my paths :
9. *He hath stripped me of mine honour,*
 And taken the crown from my head ;
10. *He hath broken me down on every side, so that I am gone,*
 And hath uprooted my hope like a tree ;
11. *He hath also kindled his wrath against me,*
 And reckoned me for a foe :
12. *His troops advance in array ;*
 They throw up their causeway against me,
 And encamp round my tent.
13. *He hath removed my brethren far away,*
 And those who knew me are wholly estranged from me ;
14. *My kinsfolk stand aloof,*
 And my familiar friends have forgotten me ;
15. *The inmates of my house and my maidens count me a stranger,*
 An alien have I become in their eyes ;
16. *I call to my servant, but he will not answer,*
 Though I implore him with mine own mouth :
17. *My breath has become strange to my wife ;*
 I am offensive to my brethren :

18. *The very children despise me,
When I rise up they speak against me :*
19. *All my inward friends abhor me,
And they whom I love are turned against me :*
20. *My bone cleaves to my skin and my flesh,
And I am escaped with the skin of my teeth.*
21. *Have pity on me, have pity on me, O ye my friends,
For the hand of God hath touched me !*
22. *Why should ye persecute me, like God,
And not be satisfied with my pangs ?*
23. *O that my words were written down,
That they were inscribed in the book,—*
24. *With an iron pen, and with lead,
Cut deep in the rock for ever !*
25. *" I know that my Redeemer liveth ;
And He shall stand, at last, over this dust :*
26. *And after my body hath thus been destroyed,
Yet from my flesh shall I see God ;*
27. *Whom I shall see on my side,
And mine own eyes shall behold, not those of another :
For that my reins pine away within me ! "*
28. *If then ye should say, " How may we persecute him ? " .
For ye find the cause of my affliction in me—*
29. *Beware the sword ! For the punishments of the sword are wrathful,
That ye may know there is a judgment.*

Verses 2 and 3.—Job commences his reply, as usual, with a brief discharge of personalities, reproaching the Friends with the cruelty, the pertinacity, the shameless injustice of their assault upon him. His feeling is,

I have too long borne
Your blunt upbraidings and your bitter scoffs,

and he demands of them how much longer, not content with the unutterable anguish he is compelled to suffer, they will add to it by stretching him on the rack of their unfounded censures and rebukes. " These *ten*

times have ye insulted me!" he exclaims, every fresh assumption of his guilt being a fresh insult. But the word "ten" is not, of course, to be taken literally. Ten is a round number, and, as being the number of fingers on a man's hands—fingers being probably the first counters—was employed to denote the utmost possible number. What Job means is, "You have carried insult to the last possible point; you have exhausted on me every possible form of censure and false imputation of guilt!" Carried away by their ignorant zeal against him, they are lost to all sense of shame and decency. They are more transported by passion than he by calamity; and he can only sit wrapt in indignant amazement at the evil change that has passed upon them.

Verse 4.—What is it that so strangely excites them? Why are they thus transported from themselves? why turned from friends who revere and pity him into implacable judges with eyes full of condemnation and lofty rebuke? Even if their assumption were true, and he had erred and gone astray, his guilt would remain with himself; *he* would have to expiate it, not they; the punitive results of his offence would not extend to them and darken over their lot. As they would not suffer by his sin, could they not afford to look on it dispassionately, and to mingle a little commiseration for him with their censure of his supposed offence?

Verses 5 and 6.—But their assumption was *not* true. He had not sinned, or had not so sinned as to provoke the calamities that were crushing him. If their theory of a retributive Providence was a true and complete one, then that Providence was manifestly unjust. If

they still inferred from the evils which had befallen him that he had done evil, although he had refuted the premisses from which that inference was drawn again and again, he could only reassert his integrity. "The good he stood on was his truth and honesty;" nothing was left him but that: if that should fail him, he must sink into the abyss. And therefore, if nothing would content them but to magnify themselves upon him by depriving him of his last stay and hope, rather than yield it he would hurl back on them the charge that the God whom they had eulogized and defended was as cruel and unjust as they were, and had "wrested," or perverted, his cause even as they had wrested it.

How could any man who "delighted no less in truth than life" do otherwise? God was *not* punishing him for his iniquity; He was testing, purging, perfecting his righteousness. If God's dealings with Job had meant what they assumed them to mean, God Himself admits that it would have been a perversion of justice. So that, shocking as Job's charges against God sound to some minds, they were after all but an impassioned and rhetorical statement of facts which God Himself confesses to be true.

Bildad had affirmed (Chap. xviii. 8) that the wicked man—meaning Job—was thrust into the net *by his own feet*. "No," retorts Job (*Verse 6*), "it is *God* who has flung his net around me. It is not by my own act that I am entangled in these complicated and binding miseries, but by the act of the Almighty."

Up to this point, then, it is evident that Job is addressing himself mainly and directly to the charges which Bildad had indirectly alleged against him. But, from this point onward, it is equally evident that he

detaches himself more and more from the toils of a merely personal controversy. The assertions of his opponent still give direction and colour to his thoughts, indeed. The charge that he was abandoned by God and man supplies the theme of most of the Verses which follow. Nevertheless, as we consider these Verses, we feel that Job is not so much attempting to answer the conclusion Bildad had inferred from the fact of this double abandonment, as brooding over the fact itself, and seeking to ascertain what it really signifies and portends. Indeed, it was Job himself (Chap. xvi. 7-11) who had suggested this the most oppressive aspect of his fate to Bildad, complaining that it was because God hated him that men opened their mouths against him ; so that, in dwelling on it, he is really pursuing his own line of meditation rather than that of his opponents. He lingers, as sorrow is apt to do, on all the aspects and details of his miserable lot, finding fresh food for grief in each of them. But he no longer cares to argue and contend about the interpretation which men put upon them ; he is bent upon interpreting them for himself, bent on discovering the *true* interpretation of them, not that which would be most pleasant to himself, or that which would best enable him to discomfit the Friends. He is feeling after, if haply he may find it, the truth that will strengthen him to endure his misery by shewing him that even such misery as his is compatible with the justice and the goodness of God, although it seems to disprove them.

This meditative inquest into the apparently inexplicable facts of his own experience is very finely rendered. He begins with his abandonment by God. He

describes the emotions it had quickened and released within him. And here, first of all (*Verse 6*), there was the general sense of entanglement, of being surprised and caught in a net woven out of sins of which he nevertheless knew himself not to be guilty. Then, *Verse 7*, this unaccountable contradiction between his conscience and his fate forces from him cries of exhortation against the terrible wrong done him, which, however, elicit no response: "I cry out, Violence!" like a wayfarer surprised by brigands, "but there is none to answer, nor any that regardeth." They are permitted to carry him off captive, after having inflicted many and grievous wounds. Then, *Verse 8*, every outlet from his captive and imprisoned state seems closed up, so that he can neither find any loophole of escape, nor see to take it even if he should find it. Then, *Verse 9*, witnesses and spectators of his misery find access to his dungeon, and from his abject condition "moralize" his guilt. And thus God, "the main mover of all these harms," the Author of all his misery, added yet this above all, that He tore the crown of righteousness from his head, and stripped him of that robe of virtue and integrity in which, having lost all else, he hoped to involve himself. Bereft of robe and crown, he is left naked and exposed to all the storms of an angry Heaven. And now, no words can render his misery, no figures, however graphic; but he tries to convey it in figures expressive though insufficient. Like a great tree, under whose branches many had found shelter and repose, caught in the mighty hands of a tempest, and torn up by the roots, he lies, fallen and dishonoured, on the ground (*Verse 10*). God—and this is the climax of all his woes, as it is also the

source from which they all flow—is turned to be his Adversary; and, like a hapless city (*Verses 11 and 12*), assailed by an irresistible host, he has to endure the ever-renewed charge and onset of all who serve and follow Him.

Nothing in human life is so terrible as the misery and despair of a man who deems himself abandoned and doomed by God—as they know who have ever conversed with one so utterly lost to hope and impervious to it. But, though not so terrible, it may be questioned whether to be abandoned by men, to be cut off from human sympathy, is not a still more touching and pathetic sorrow. That any man should be wholly abandoned by God is, happily, not only impossible in itself, but so difficult as to be well-nigh impossible for us to conceive. But to be abandoned by men, to be cast out from the charity of even the tenderest hearts, to become the object of universal scorn and loathing and contempt; this, as it is not impossible in itself, so neither is it a condition which few can conceive. It is a misery that touches us close home; for most of us have lost a love or a sympathy that we once dearly prized; and we can imagine how our life would lose all its sweet uses were we, by some great sin, or even by being unjustly suspected of some great sin, to be put out of the pale of human charity and love, to be regarded even by the most friendly eyes with reprehension and abhorrence. Men cannot live in the dislike and contempt of their fellows. They may steel their hearts against it for a time; if it be undeserved, resentment may for a time nerve them to bear it. But, sooner or later, it quite breaks them down, and even the most steadfast spirit quails under

it. Job himself quails and faints under it. It is when he realizes how utterly he has been condemned and cast off by all sorts and conditions of men that his spirit is overwhelmed within him; and he cries out, although he knows he cries in vain, "Have pity on me, have pity on me, O ye my friends!"

In *Verses* 13-20 he turns from his abandonment by God to complain of this still more pathetic injury. He gives a singularly complete and touching description of the aversion in which he was held by his own kin, by his own kind. This, too, he traces to the hand of God—not so much blaming the men who shudder and shrink from him as the God who had made him so loathsome and offensive that he was unfitted for human society, repulsive to the very eyes of love. One result, and one of the saddest results, of the condition to which the wrath of God had reduced him is that his wife, his kinsfolk, his clan, his servants and dependants, even the little children, despise and avoid him as a man smitten and accursed of Heaven. First, he tells us (*Verses* 13, 14) that his kindred, his friends, the leading members of his own and related clans—those outside the circle of his own household—were estranged from him. Then (*Verses* 15, 16) he complains that, within that circle, his menials and slaves, even to his body-servant, who once flew at his slightest glance or gesture, now disdain to obey him, and disregard his very entreaties.

Those he commands move only in command,
Nothing in love;

or they disobey even a positive and audible command. To them he is as "a stranger" and a foreigner, *i.e.*, one who has no claim either to their allegiance or to their

sympathy: his fall is reflected from their stubborn faces, where it shews itself, after the manner of their kind, without delicacy or reserve. Then, *Verse 17*, a still more bitter complaint rises to his lips, an acuter misery. The very wife of his bosom can no longer endure his presence, and his own brothers, sons of the same womb (as the Hebrew idiom "men of *my* womb" means), are offended at him: the most intimate and beloved members of his family revolt from him. Nay, the desertion is universal. The very children (*Verse 18*) playing about the *mezbele* on which he lies, to whom he once appeared with "brows of so high authority" that they were dumb with fear, deride him, and mock at his convulsive and ineffectual attempts to rise from it. And they have learned this strange and wounding insolence from the men, even from the leading men, of his tribe — his "inward friends," literally, "the men of his counsel," those with whom he conferred and to whom he confided his most secret purposes and thoughts (*Verse 19*). With all these abhorring and reviling him, Job does not need to tell us that the common rank and file of his clan also array themselves against him. *They* would be sure to follow their chiefs, or their neighbours, to become his enemies even if they knew not why they were so, and, "like to village curs, bark when their fellows" did.

Verse 20.—To give new force to this description of his state now that God had abandoned him to the alienation of men, and to hint at the reason of their alienation from him, Job touches on a new feature of the cruel and wasting disease by which his body was being devoured. For *elephantiasis*, while it causes an abnormal swelling of the vascular tissue, especially in

the joints of the body, is commonly attended by an extraordinary wasting away of the trunk and the limbs. In medical language, both atrophy and hypertrophy are among its symptoms. And Job now refers to this terrible emaciation of the body partly to indicate how unfit, how incompetent, he was to endure the load of Divine anger and human aversion, and partly to account for the alienation of men. He had touched this point before (*Verse 17*), and now he touches it again, that we may not judge his friends and kinsmen too severely. His disease of itself rendered him, as he is aware, loathsome and offensive to them, and still more offensive because they found in it a sign of the Divine displeasure.

But if it were offensive to *them*, what must it have been to *him*? If it bred strange doubts and questions in their hearts, what must it have bred in his heart? Throughout his speech he has been insisting that it is *God* who has inflicted these undeserved miseries upon him, — God, to whom he owes his pain and anguish of body and the still more intolerable anguish of his soul. If *they* cannot, how can *he*, reconcile the infliction of all this anguish and shame on an innocent man with the justice of God? Once more, therefore, he appeals, though only for a moment, from God to man. Perhaps, as he has recounted the sad tale of his woes, he has seen, or thinks he has seen, some sign of relenting, some quiver of compunction or compassion on the faces of his Friends. Assuredly, if he has not moved them, he has moved himself to the very depths. And so, in his profound emotion, he breaks into the imploring and pitiful appeal of *Verses 21, 22*. He beseeches them to let their hearts speak, to stay his fainting soul with some

word of ruth or pity. They are his *friends*; *they*, at least, have not wholly abandoned him; they still sit by his side, and deign to hold some little converse with him, whereas other men have left him for ever, and God remains obstinately silent, let him plead and appeal as he will. Will they not open their hearts to him, then, and let him take refuge in their sympathy from the afflicting hand of God and from the harsh misjudgments of the world at large? Why should they add their persecutions to those of God? why take on themselves the judicial and punitive functions proper to Him? Why affect to look down upon him from an usurped height of sinlessness and infallibility? Why should they not be satisfied with the pangs already inflicted on him? why gnaw into his flesh with the keen tooth of calumny, attributing to him, as God had done, sins of which he was not guilty, and treating him as though he were a convicted criminal trembling at their bar?

It was a tender and a moving appeal. But those hard Pharisaic faces were unmoved by it. If their hearts were touched by any human and kindly emotion, they suppressed it. It was their duty to suppress it; their principles forbade them to yield to it. Entrenched in their narrow creed, they have nothing but austere reprobation for their wicked friend. They are the more austere both because he is their friend, and they still have a sort of love — what Sophocles so happily calls “an unloving love” — for him, and because they feel that it costs them something to maintain their austerity. With such sacrifices, they think, God is well pleased. And so, as Job glances eagerly into their hard set faces, he reads in them their unalterable verdict against him. He feels that his last appeal has failed, that he must

hope for nothing more from them. Once more the eager hungry heart is thrown back upon itself. But there must be pity, there must be justice, somewhere; in heaven, if not on earth; in death, if not in life; in God, if not with men: and, wherever it is, he will find it or perish in the search. "To be a seeker," said Cromwell, "is to be of the next best sect to being a finder." Job was both seeker and finder, for at last he finds the justice he has sought so long. How, and where, we are about to see.

S. COX.

THAT CHRIST SPOKE GREEK—A REPLY.

I TRUST I shall not outrun the patience of readers of *THE EXPOSITOR* by saying a few words in reply to the paper of Dr. Sanday contained in the February number. If indeed it were true, as Dr. Sanday somewhat strangely says, that the difference between us "is not really so very great," the labour which I now undertake might well be spared. But the difference is, both in theory and practical results, in fact, immense: On his hypothesis, almost all the words which the Son of God really uttered in this world have perished, and only a reflection of them has been preserved; while, on mine, the words of Christ are still possessed in the language in which they were spoken. On his hypothesis, Christianity in the form in which it was taught by Christ Himself has disappeared, so that what He uttered in Hebrew has, in a way by no means easy to explain, descended to us only in Greek;¹ while, on mine, we still have access in our existing Gospels to

¹ Comp. Jowett's "Epistles of St. Paul," i. 452. Second Edition.

the *integri fontes* of the Christian faith. On his hypothesis, the labours of exegetes in trying to bring out the exact meaning of our Lord's words are, to a great extent, worthless, since in many cases there were certainly no strictly corresponding expressions in Hebrew; while, on mine, such efforts are quite legitimate and proper, since they are put forth in connection with the language which was actually employed. I trust, therefore, that the importance as well as interest of the subject will plead my apology for once again recurring to it.

Dr. Sanday begins by making a large number of concessions highly creditable to his candour. These are to me not a little encouraging, as indicating that the question is now in a very different condition from what it was some years ago. No one, probably, will henceforth undertake to defend the position occupied by Pfannkuche and Milman, or even by Renan,¹ and many others.

The first thing which calls for notice in Dr. Sanday's paper is a note which occurs at p. 83. I am there blamed for attaching too much importance to the fact that Josephus tells us respecting Gadara and Hippos that they were *Greek* cities. This does not imply, it is said, the use of the Greek language. It may mean nothing more than that these cities were peopled by Gentiles, since, as every one knows, Greek and Gentile are in the New Testament convertible terms.

It seems to me, I confess, a pretty strong assertion which is made, when we are told that cities expressly styled "Greek" did not make use of the Greek lan-

¹ In the *Vie de Jésus* (chap. iii.) we read, "Il n'est pas probable qu'il ait su le grec." I need not say how far this is from being the standpoint of Dr. Sanday.

guage. All probability is surely against such a statement. And even granting that we are to understand simply that the cities referred to were inhabited by Gentiles, does Dr. Sanday wish us to believe that these Gentiles learned Aramaic? I can hardly imagine that such is his serious intention. Let it be remembered that he himself has said, in the first page of his paper, "There is no question that the Jews of our Lord's time were practically bilingual." This being so, what inducement could these Gentiles have to learn the Jews' language? And yet it is only on the supposition of their having done so that the force of my argument in connection with the Sermon on the Mount can by any possibility be evaded. If, then, Dr. Sanday does really mean to affirm that these Gentiles, or indeed any others, learned the language of the Jews, I beg to ask what evidence is producible to that effect. So far as I know, there is none. And until some proof is brought forward, the words of Dr. Sanday must be regarded as simply begging the question. That people styled "Greeks," and that cities styled "Greek cities," made use of the Greek language, is surely the dictate of common sense, and ought, unless refuted by sufficient evidence, to be rested in as the fair and natural conclusion.¹ No one, indeed, seems hitherto to have questioned the fact that these cities were in every respect Greek. Let me refer only to the eminent Hebraist and historian Ewald. He says of Hippos, Gadara, and Scythopolis, that they were "*wholly* Greek cities,"² and he would therefore, we must believe, have

¹ These apt words from an idyll of Theocritus here suggest themselves—*Δωρίσθην ὄξεσσι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωρίεσσιν*—"Dorians, I think, may be allowed to speak Doric." So Greeks may surely be allowed to have spoken Greek.

² "Völlig Hellenische Städte."—*Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* iv. 266.

been somewhat surprised to learn that their inhabitants did not necessarily make use of the Greek language.

The linguistic condition of the cities of Decapolis is thus really decisive as to the language of the Sermon on the Mount, and therefore decisive as to the whole question at issue. But there is another fact to which I called attention, that Dr. Sanday has entirely overlooked. It matters nothing to my argument whether the great discourse reported by St. Matthew was delivered on one or more occasions. But it does matter that *this* point be noticed, that among those who listened to a portion of it at least were inhabitants of *Tyre and Sidon*. Will Dr. Sanday venture to maintain that these people understood Aramaic? If so, the learned world will probably be curious to hear the proof, since it has hitherto held that even Syro-Phœnician had ceased, at the time referred to, to be the medium of public intercourse in these regions. I formerly referred to Gesenius in proof of this point: let me now quote another learned authority to the same effect. Sperling, in his masterly work entitled "*De Nummis non Cusis*," alluding to the fact that all the Tyrian coins of this period bore Greek inscriptions, remarks in explanation: "For after the successors of Alexander the Great and the Greeks got possession of Syria, the people of the country both spoke Greek and wrote only in Greek, while they managed all their matters, the coining of money inclusive, according to the customs of the Greeks; and the ancient Tyrian or Phœnician writing and inscription completely vanished and perished."¹ I refer, then, with confidence, to the statement formerly made, that Greek was at the time

¹ Page 51.

the language of Phœnicia. Dr. Sanday, as I have remarked, has not said one word in contravention of that statement. But it demands to be faced, and either refuted or accepted. If it can be refuted, then let it disappear from my argument for ever. But if it must be accepted, let it carry with it its own proper conclusion. What that conclusion must be, is obvious from Luke vi. 17. There we read respecting Christ, "And he came down with them (the apostles), and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, who came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases." The discourse which that mixed multitude of Jews and Phœnicians listened to simultaneously, and in common understood, must have been delivered in the Greek language.

Dr. Sanday next tells us (p. 84) that "the mass of the nation hated all that was Greek." This is one of those sweeping assertions not unfrequently found in connection with the question under consideration. It is apt to produce considerable impression by the very vehemence with which it is made; and, accordingly, I am inclined to ascribe to the feeling thus excited, more perhaps than to anything else, the unwillingness displayed to admit the force of my argument. But I entreat the reader to withstand its force until it becomes something more than assertion, and to keep his mind open till some proof has been brought forward in support of the only point here truly relevant, viz., that the Jews of the period hated the Greek *language*.

Very different is the opinion expressed by the illustrious Rabbinical scholar, Lightfoot. "The Jews," he

says, referring to the early Rabbis, "do well near acknowledge the Greek for their mother-tongue even in Judæa."¹ This is not very like hating the language. To the same effect, Zunz, an eminent scholar of our own day, declares: "The speech of Greece stood among the Jewish wise men of Palestine in high esteem."² In this opinion he is joined by the learned Jewish writer, Frankel, who says: "In the Talmud itself the Septuagint is only referred to in terms full of respect."³ In fact, there are passages which ascribe nothing less than Divine inspiration to the Greek version of the Old Testament.⁴ But turning away from these later views, let us see what inference is to be derived from the earliest Hebrew literature bearing upon the question.

The compilation of the Mishna was begun by the Rabbi Judah about the middle of the second century of our era, and was completed some fifty or eighty years afterwards by his disciples. The object of this work was to preserve from perishing the maxims and decisions of former Rabbis, so that the substance of part of it, doubtless, belongs to a date anterior to the birth of Christ. Now, among its statutes, we find one of Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, to the effect that it was not allowable for the Jews to compose books "except in the *Greek* language." Again, we read that a bill of divorcement might be written and signed either in *Greek* or Hebrew, and was equally valid, whether the one language or the other was employed. These passages indicate something very different from that hatred of Greek attributed by Dr. Sanday to the Jews

¹ "Works," by Pitman, xi. 25.

² *Vorträge*, p. 10.

³ *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, p. 61.

⁴ Hertzog's *Real Encyc. Art. Alexan. Uebers.*

of our Saviour's day. I must repeat, therefore, that any dislike evinced to the use of that language was a thing of later date. For we, no doubt, also read in the Mishna, exactly in accordance with what we might infer from some passages in Josephus, that the study and employment of the Greek language were formally prohibited during the course of the wars conducted by Vespasian and Titus.¹

The fallacy in this assertion, that the Jews "hated *all* that was Greek," seems to be one that is well known to every student of logic. It is the *Fallacia a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. If the thesis propounded were that the Jews always hated the *religion* or *philosophy* of the Greeks, then the position would, I believe, be tenable, and we might thus reconcile apparently inconsistent passages which occur in the Rabbinical writings. This was pointed out by Paulus so long ago as 1803. He shews that the hatred of what was Greek applied to the Greek philosophy, and not to the Greek language. On the contrary, as is proved by citations from the Talmud, Greek was in habitual use among the Jews of Palestine, and the study of the language was regarded as perfectly legitimate.²

Dr. Sanday has most justly remarked that "the Jewish character did not change backwards and forwards like a shuttlecock." But who represents it as so changing? The Greek proclivities of the Jews for several generations before Christ constitute an unquestionable fact. This has been clearly demonstrated by Ewald in the section of his history entitled "The ir-

¹ See Surenhusius, *Misch. Megill.* 1, 8; *Gittin*, 9, 8; *Sotah*, 9, 14.

² Millin's *Magazin Encyclopédique*, 1805.

ruption of Grecian culture and art." Referring to the period in question, he says: "There soon were plenty of Jews and Samaritans who at once betrayed their predilection for the new culture by their adoption of Greek or Greek-like names. And this intrusion of the Greek element by no means limited itself to Alexandria or other Greek cities; it spread also speedily and powerfully to Jerusalem, and especially to Samaria, as many indications lead us to acknowledge."¹ This is obvious from the apocryphal books of the Old Testament: And when the author of the Second Book of Maccabees tells us that in his day Hellenism had become so prevalent in the land, shall we suppose that, without any cause which history recognizes, there was a sudden and violent recoil in the opposite direction? No; there is not a shadow of reason to believe that such a thing had taken place before our Lord's day. It was only at a later date, and owing to circumstances totally different from those of the time of Christ, that an outburst of fury and fanaticism against all that savoured of Gentilism actually took place.

The position of Dr. Sanday in reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews is somewhat peculiar, and will not, I venture to think, be regarded as satisfactory. Admitting the composition to be a letter, he believes that there is hardly any clue to its original destination. In this he departs both from the ancient Fathers and from the great majority of modern critics. These have felt constrained, in spite of all difficulties, to regard the Epistle as having been primarily intended for the Church in Palestine. The one grand barrier to this conclusion has been the language of the Epistle. I

¹ *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* iv. 282.

need not repeat what was formerly said on this point. Dr. Sanday appears to concede that the original destination of the Epistle *may* have been Palestine, but thinks that this proves nothing as to the language dominant in that country. I shall only remark on this, that the writer is evidently and very thoroughly *en rapport* with his readers, which could scarcely have been the case had he written to them, as Dr. Sanday is willing to imagine, in a language which perhaps not more than half of them understood. I cannot but feel that the argument I based on this Epistle remains untouched, though I might easily afford to part with it without any detriment to the cause for which I plead.

A somewhat desperate expedient is had recourse to by Dr. Sanday in order to escape from the conclusion derived from the knowledge of Greek manifestly possessed by the Apostle Peter. He thinks it "rather probable that St. Peter did not write his Epistle for himself." It is supposed that St. Mark acted on the occasion as his amanuensis and interpreter, writing at the Apostle's dictation, but changing, I presume, his Aramaic into Greek. Now this is surely to cut the knot instead of untying it. And not only is the hypothesis totally gratuitous, but it seems clearly opposed by the writing itself. Mark is conceived of as the author of the letter in its Greek form, and yet he is spoken of (Chap. v. 13) as "Marcus, my son!" It is in a very different way that the amanuensis of St. Paul introduces his own name when he says (Rom. xvi. 22), "I, Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord." But even waiving this, what does Dr. Sanday say as to St. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost?

He has taken no notice of this in his paper; but I must be allowed again to press it on the attention of the reader. That sermon, be it observed, was addressed, among others, to "men of *Cyrene*, and strangers of Rome, Jews and *proselytes*." And I ask, Will any one maintain that these persons understood Hebrew? If so, I should like to see the proof. But if not so, St. Peter spoke at the time in Greek, and the clearest evidence is thus presented of the familiarity then possessed by the Jews with the Greek language.

Dr. Sanday presses me, I think somewhat unduly, with the admission which I have made, that Aramaic might still be called the vernacular language of Palestine. He asks (p. 92), "Is not the *vernacular* language of a country *the* language?" Yes, in one sense; but not necessarily so in another. Celtic may be said to be the vernacular tongue of many Scottish Highlanders, who yet scarcely ever hear it on public occasions. Gaelic may be said to be their mother tongue, but the language which they read in books, and which they listen to in public, is English. Many other illustrations might be derived from bilingual nations. And exactly so do I conceive it to have been in Palestine. The Aramaic was the representative of the old ancestral tongue, and as such was used in homely familiar intercourse. I am therefore willing to style it the vernacular language of the country, but I do so without the least prejudice to my argument. This must be obvious to all who have attended to the relations which I regard as having existed between the two languages. The Aramaic, I have elsewhere remarked, "might still be said, though with difficulty, and amid many exceptions,

to maintain its position as the mother-tongue of the inhabitants of the country.¹

We are told by Dr. Sanday that the occurrence of occasional Aramaic expressions in the Greek Gospels is quite as compatible with the belief that Christ habitually spoke the one language as the other. But in this I hardly think that he will carry with him the assent of any candid and considerate reader. Here we have documents which, on his hypothesis, have been, as a body, translated from the Aramaic, and which nevertheless retain, here and there, an expression from that language. Now, in such a case it is surely requisite, and should also be possible, to give some plausible reason for the retention of these words untranslated. Accordingly, many on Dr. Sanday's side of the question, recognizing the necessity, have made such an attempt. The results have been of the sorriest character—indeed, have at times bordered on the ludicrous. Dr. Sanday prudently lets the matter alone, though he is bound, like others, to offer some explanation. I beg to refer with considerable confidence to what was said on this point in my previous papers.

I need hardly say here that it is no argument whatever against my views to find *Aceldama* spoken of at Acts i. 19 as belonging to the "proper tongue" of the Jews. As I have discussed this passage at some length elsewhere,² I need not dwell on it here. Instead of any observations of my own, I shall quote the words of a writer who cannot be suspected of any sympathy

¹ "Discussions on the Gospels," p. 5. I may here remark that, while the tone of Dr. Sanday's paper is excellent throughout, there seems to me to be one jarring sentence. He asks, "Can we suppose that our Lord Himself used any other language than the vernacular?" Certainly we can, as the word "vernacular" is explained above. And let me add that we must look only at *facts*, and have nothing to do with *suppositions*.

² "Discussions on the Gospels," p. 302.

with me in the present question. "Some affirm," says the author of "Supernatural Religion," "that Verses 18 and 19 are inserted as a parenthesis by the author of the Acts, whilst a larger number contend that only Verse 19 is parenthetical. A very cursory examination of the passage, however, is sufficient to shew that the verses cannot be separated. Verse 18 is connected with the preceding by the *μὲν οὖν*, 19 with 18 by *καὶ*, and Verse 20 refers to 16, as indeed it also does to 17 and 18, without which the passage from the Psalm, as applied to Judas, would be unintelligible. Most critics, therefore, are agreed that none of the verses can be considered parenthetical."¹ Among the critics referred to in this last sentence are Meyer, Stier, De Wette, Zeller, and others of deservedly high reputation. Dr. Sanday, however, goes against them, and regards the words referred to as "an added note or comment by St. Luke." This seems to me, as it has to so many others, utterly impossible, on account of the Greek construction. I still regard the whole speech as that of St. Peter, to whom it is ascribed; and why should we doubt that he was now speaking in Greek, seeing that, as proved above, he unquestionably did so on the occasion referred to in the second chapter?

To save space, I shall not dwell upon the perhaps not very important remarks of Dr. Sanday on the Talmud and Targums. He quotes a passage from Credner on the subject, and I always listen to anything coming from that most admirable writer with the utmost respect. But not even Credner can convince me that, when our Lord said to his hearers, "Search the Scriptures," He referred them to an Aramaic trans-

¹ Vol. iii. p. 100.

lation of the Old Testament, of which we hear nothing in Jewish or patristic antiquity.

But I now come to deal with Josephus, to whom Dr. Sanday ascribes an overwhelming force in deciding the question at issue. This, I think, is hardly fair, since we have in the New Testament itself no fewer than eight different authors of the period, who ought all to have a voice in determining the matter. But Dr. Sanday has appealed to Josephus, and to Josephus let us go.

First of all, then, as every scholar knows, Josephus depends, for the most part, on the LXX. in his references to the Old Testament. Though a man of eminent learning among the Jews, it is clear that he knew but little of ancient Hebrew, and it is still more obvious that he knew nothing at all of those Aramaic Targums which have so often, without the least ground of evidence, been conjured into existence.

Next, Dr. Sanday forgets altogether that passage in the preface to his *History of the Jewish War*, in which Josephus tells us for *whom* he wrote it in Aramaic. Was it for the Jews of Palestine? Nay: but for "the barbarians of the interior"—the Jews of Babylon and the surrounding countries. And for whom did he translate that history into Greek? For those, as he himself tells us, who lived under the government of the Romans. Now, it is clear that the Jews of Palestine are excluded from the first class, and included in the second. They were *not* among those for whose sake Josephus wrote his history in Hebrew, and they *were* among those for whom he translated it into Greek. Is not the inference obvious?

But now we come to the passage in Josephus on.

which Dr. Sanday appears to lay the greatest stress : I refer to the statement made by the Jewish historian at the close of the " Antiquities." Now, let the reader well observe to what conclusions Dr. Sanday's interpretation of the passage leads him. They are these : " A knowledge of Greek was common enough among the middle and lower classes (*i.e.*, the classes that would naturally be engaged in traffic, either with Hellenistic Jews or with foreigners) : among the upper classes (except, we should probably have to say, the Herodian court and party) it was rare, and few spoke it correctly; but the idea that Greek was the current language of the country, is contradicted in every line." Can these be correct conclusions? I am afraid they will hardly be accepted as such by many on Dr. Sanday's side of the question. Thus says Grinfield : " The knowledge of Greek was confined chiefly to the *upper* orders, and to the Roman officers." ¹ Thus also Renan : " The Greek language was little spread in Judæa beyond the classes who had part in the government, and cities inhabited by pagans, like Cæsarea." ² And so multitudes of others.

Thus, on the one hand, we have Dr. Sanday maintaining what his own friends would style the probably more than paradoxical opinion, that Greek was known by the *lower* classes among the Jews, but rarely by the *upper*; and, on the other hand, we are told what seems more in accordance with the common-sense view of the subject, that, while the Greek language was known by the highly-educated among the Jews, it was scarcely heard among the community at large. May I not be forgiven for hoping that, amid such confusion of

¹ " Apology for the Septuagint," p. 76.

² *Vie de Jésus*, chap. iii.

thought on the subject, agreement will yet be found in the acceptance of my proposition ?

What was it that Josephus took such pains to learn ? Not Greek *cujuslibet generis*, for, by Dr. Sanday's admission that the Jews of the time were "bilingual," he had that without any trouble. What, then, could it have been, unless, as I have maintained, to write, as far as possible, in pure and classical Greek ? "Josephus imitates," says Ernesti, "with great care and considerable success, the writers of pure Greek, especially Polybius, both in single words and in the turn of his sentences, intermixing but few Hebraisms, and therein, as he himself says, departing from the custom of his fellow-countrymen." ¹ And a late able American scholar shews us that he takes the same view of the import of the passage when he says, "Josephus speaks with emphasis of the difficulty which even a well-educated Jew found in writing Greek with idiomatic accuracy." ² The real meaning of this much-vaunted passage in Josephus thus turns out to be in perfect harmony with the views which I have endeavoured to establish.

The other passage (*Contr. Ap.* i. 9) need not long detain us. Dr. Sanday himself admits that there may be in it "some exaggeration." Josephus is supposed to affirm that, of all in the Roman camp, he was the only one who understood Hebrew, or who, knowing both that language and the Greek, was capable of acting as interpreter between the Jewish deserters and the Romans. But this is absurd on the face of it, and in direct contradiction to numerous accounts contained

¹ "Institutes," ii. 184.

² Hadley's "Essays Philological and Critical," p. 413.

in his own writings.¹ Either, therefore, another meaning than "understood" must be given to *συνέην*, or the passage must be regarded as one of many in which Josephus seeks, at the expense of perfect truthfulness, to magnify his own importance.

Flimsy indeed, then, are the arguments derived from Josephus on which Dr. Sanday rests with so much confidence. They absolutely result in nothing when carefully examined; nothing, I mean, that can be regarded as having any weight against my argument. In favour of that argument I have the whole New Testament, from beginning to end. In these papers I have, of course, given only the barest outline of the evidence, and must refer readers, who wish to see it fully stated, to my work upon the subject. But I should like, ere saying my last word on this question in *THE EXPOSITOR*, to direct attention to a passage in the Gospel of St. John, which is no doubt very familiar to Dr. Sanday, from his well-known and valuable labours in connection with that Gospel, but which I would venture yet again to commend to his consideration.

The passage referred to is John xx. 14-17, and I confidently submit it as decisive of the question at issue. All textual critics now admit that *Ἐβραϊστὶ* ought to be inserted in Verse 16, so that the passage will stand in English as follows: "She saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and said unto

¹ "Wars," iv. 1, 5; v. 13, 7, &c.

him, in Hebrew, *Rabboni* ; which is to say, *Master*. Jesus saith unto her, *Touch me not ; for I am not yet ascended to my Father : but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father ; and to my God, and your God.*"

The following extract will shew how well fitted this passage is to impress every candid mind with the true linguistic condition of Palestine at the time. "*Mary*," says Röhr, "in her conversation with Christ, appears to have spoken Greek, until she understood that He was risen from the dead, when she addressed him in the more common Aramaic, saying, *Rabboni.*"¹ This writer, however, does not see that the admission which he here makes is fatal to the theory which he maintains ; for surely if the Aramaic had been "more common" in public intercourse among the Jews of that period than the Greek, it would at once have been used by *Mary* in addressing one whom she supposed to be "the gardener," and there would have been no indication in the narrative that any other language was generally employed by the Saviour and his disciples.

Let it be noticed by the reader that certainly one, and probably two, Hebrew terms are preserved in the passage, neither of which would have any meaning if the whole conversation had been carried on in that language. Jesus said to his affectionate follower, "*Mary.*" This word at once recalled to her those tones which she loved so well : she recognized her Master in the person who now stood beside her ; and, under the influence of deep emotion, she said unto Him, "*Rabboni,*" making use of the same language in which He had probably uttered her name (*Mariam*).

¹ *Palästina*, Bib. Cab. p. 92.

We see at once a beauty and significance in the employment and preservation of these Hebrew terms, if the rest of the conversation was in Greek; but if it be supposed that the language used by Christ and Mary throughout was Hebrew, the meaning of these isolated expressions being retained in that tongue entirely disappears. And the restoration by criticism of the word *Ἑβραϊστὶ* renders the proof still more evident that Greek was the language usually employed by Christ and his disciples. For why, we may well ask, should the Evangelist remark that Hebrew was the language *now* used by Mary, if that was, in fact, the form of speech which she and her fellow-disciples generally employed? It must, I think, be difficult for any one to read the entire passage in the original without feeling that it leaves an almost irresistible impression in favour of the opinion that *Greek* was the language usually employed by Christ in discoursing with his followers, and that Hebrew was used only in their more private and familiar intercourse, or for special reasons, and on particular occasions.

A. ROBERTS.

RABBINIC ESCHATOLOGY.

It is not my object in the present paper to enter either directly or indirectly into controverted topics. It may be that it would be better for us all if it were more the habit of modern authorship to state, with the utmost impartiality, the historical and logical grounds for certain inferences, and to leave the reader to form his own conclusions from them, without startling him into rejection by any premature assertion of the conclusion at which the writer has himself arrived. This was the plan

suggested by the calm wisdom of Bishop Butler, and although it was perhaps more feasible in his day than at a period when leisure has become an almost extinct element in the vast majority of lives, yet there certainly are occasions on which it can be wisely adopted, and subjects to which it may be profitably applied. In this paper, at any rate, the reader may rest assured that it is my sole object to find and to register facts, and not to be influenced in stating them by any ulterior conclusion to which they lead.

It is generally acknowledged, and whether it be acknowledged or not, it is indisputable that the earlier books of the Bible contain no clear revelation upon the subject of man's immortality. It is indeed almost incredible that the wise Patriarchs should have passed through life to extreme old age without any hope of a future existence. Had they done so they would stand intellectually below the level of men of other races to whom they were in all respects superior. The thoughts indeed of an Abraham, living a life so peaceful and so highly favoured, may have been content to rest mainly in the region of earthly duties, and in the hopes of the blessing promised to his race. But even he, and much more his saddened and often harassed descendants, must have often faced the great reality of death with a serenity which could only spring from the conviction that even there God's hand would guide them and his right hand lead them. Dim indeed, and destitute of every detail, must have been the vista which opened itself to their spiritual imagination beyond the grave; too dim to form a subject of discussion, almost too dim to form the subject of a distinct and formulated faith. Yet thus much, we may be sure, must have been felt.

by the grey-haired fathers of the Jewish race, and thus much at any rate they would never have shrunk from saying to their children, to the intent that they also might reveal it to the generations yet unborn—namely, that the souls of the righteous were in the hands of God, and that, little as was revealed respecting the future, yet no harm could happen unto them. All that they had learnt respecting the love of God necessitated such a trust. Nor, in forming this conclusion, have we only to rest on *a priori* grounds. Limited and obscure as may have been the knowledge of the Patriarchs, yet, on the one hand, the ancient and frequent distinction between the place of burial (*Kebher*) and the unseen world (*Sheol, Bor*), and, on the other, the extreme antiquity of a belief in necromancy, shews how widely prevalent was the belief that the spirit of man continued to be in conscious existence even after it had returned to God who gave it.

The fact however remains that no clear and humanly indisputable intimation of immortality is to be found in the books of Moses. It lies involved, indeed, in the whole of that glorious revelation of the Justice, Mercy, and Love of the Creator, but it is so far from being definitely stated, that it is always to earthly sanctions that the great Lawgiver appeals. The rewards and punishments to which he points as clear signs of God's favour or disapproval are purely temporal in their character. Paradoxical and practically worthless as may be the elaborate argument on the Divine Legation of Moses which that "sham colossus of theology," Bishop Warburton, founded on this fact, the fact itself has never been shaken. It must have been with curious interest that the Sadducees awaited the proof which

they challenged, in endeavouring to entangle our Lord in one of those stale "arguments" which have at all times been prevalent in controversial theology. But his answer was a practical admission that the proof of immortality in the Mosaic writings could only be discerned by spiritual insight.

His argument was that the doctrine lay involved in the expression, "I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," since God was not the God of the dead, but of the living. This amounted to an acknowledgment that proofs more direct and more cogent than the one which He offered were not to be found within the limits of the Pentateuch, to which alone the Sadducees attached a supreme authority. Rejecting his divine mission, and preferring their own dogmatic ignorance to spiritual enlightenment, the Sadducees would not accept the force of this reasoning, and continued to attach to that solemn designation of God its most valueless and superficial significance. They had adopted as their party motto the hard formula, "No resurrection from the dead in the Law of Moses," and were not inclined at once to give it up. But our Lord's divine lesson was not lost upon the Pharisees. The Rabban Gamaliel — whether the grandson of Hillel, who was Saul's master, or his grandson, Gamaliel II. — when pressed by the Sadducees took refuge in considerations which it is more than probable that he may have learnt from Christians, since they must have been current during those early days of the Church before any rupture had occurred between the Apostles and the Pharisees. When the Sadducees refused to be convinced by Gamaliel's citation of Deuteronomy xxxi. 16, "Behold, thou shalt lie down with thy fathers," he

called their attention to Deuteronomy xi. 21, "The land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers to give it *to them*," i.e., to the living and not to the dead; and it is intimated that they did not reject this argument, which it will be observed is closely analogous to the one used by our blessed Lord.

When we turn to the later books of the Bible we find many passages which prove that among the Jews the doctrine of immortality had not yet been removed from the sphere of opinion to that of faith. The expressions used respecting the world beyond the grave differed with the mood of different writers at the times when they wrote. Sheol, the unseen world, the Hades of the Greeks, was sometimes to their saddened imagination a realm in which there was neither desire, nor knowledge, nor counsel—a dreary realm of impenetrable darkness and unbroken silence.¹ But at other times, as in the magnificent vision of Isaiah, this realm of death was peopled by colossal shadows, and this silence broken by the voices of the dead.² And gradually, as time went on, and the thoughts of the chosen people were widened not only "by the process of the suns," but also by contact with other nations—who were, like themselves, though in a different way, the people of God's pasture and the sheep of his hand—and by the divinely-guided workings of that spirit of man which is the candle of the Lord, they acquired that more distinct conception of a resurrection, either to honour, or to shame and eternal contempt, of which we find traces in the Book of Job, and still more indisputably in the Book of Daniel.

¹ Job x. 21, xiv. 19-21; Psa. vi. 5, lxxxviii. 11, 12, cxv. 17; Eccles. ix. 5, 6, x. xvii. 27, 28; Isa. xxxviii. 18. ² 1 Sam. xxviii. 7; Job xxvi. 5, 6; Isa. xiv. 9.

It was natural that such views, when once accepted, should be considered as having always formed a part of traditional theology—as being in fact so essential to the life and moral well-being of man, that the Jewish teachers regarded it as inconceivable that Moses should not have revealed them in the Oral Law, or “law upon the lip,” although from the Written Law they had been excluded.¹ The fact that in the Book of Macca-bees we find an unquestioned instance of prayers for the dead, shews how early as well as how deeply the belief in future life had, after the Babylonian exile, taken root among all classes of the community. In the time of our Lord, Pharisaism was the prevalent school of thought, which is equivalent to saying that a belief in the resurrection of the dead and of future rewards and punishments had become a recognized part of the national theology. It is into the phases of that eschatological belief that I now propose briefly to inquire, premising only that—just as in the times of our Lord, the Sadducees, though in open dispute with the Pharisees, were not only recognized members of the Jewish Church, but even the undisputed monopolists of priestly functions—in all ages of the Jewish Church the scriptural testimony, and even that of the Oral Law, has been regarded as so general and indefinite, that the widest differences of opinion respecting the future life have always prevailed among Jewish Rabbis, and have been regarded as not only permissible, but absolutely inevitable.²

¹ The Chief Rabbi Klein relies on this argument as an indisputable proof of the existence of a sacred “tradition.”

² It was perhaps in part due to a survival of this indefiniteness of permissible opinion that—as we find in St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians—even in the early Christian Church there were some whose conception of Christianity was so utterly imperfect, that they denied the resurrection of the dead.

How far the Pagan and Jewish eschatologies exercised upon each other an unconscious influence, can never, perhaps, be accurately traced; but it is certain that there was a close resemblance of general outline between the opinions of the Jews and those of the classical writers. Both believed in a future judgment. Both believed that the issues of that judgment depended on the character of our life on earth. Both believed—though, as far as the Greeks were concerned, with some notable exceptions—in the happiness of the good and the punishment of the evil. The Sheol of the Hebrew was closely analogous to the Hades of the Greek; Gehenna found its counterpart in Tartarus; Paradise and Abraham's bosom, in the meadow of Asphodel and the Elysian fields. The analogies are indeed much closer than this. Even in Homer we read of the "gates" of Hades, in the famous lines—

Who dares think one thing, and another tell,
My soul detests him as the gates of hell;

and we find the same expression in Isaiah xxxviii. 10, as well as in the imagery adopted by our Lord Himself (Matt. xvi. 18). Any metaphor of this kind at once furnished large scope for the fancy of the Rabbis, and we find, accordingly, that these gates are sometimes said to be three in number (in the desert, in Jerusalem, and in the sea: Erubhin, 19, 1); sometimes *seven*,¹ as in the Koran; sometimes fifty;² sometimes eight thousand; and, according to Rabbi Akibha, even forty thousand. In one Talmudic treatise it is said that these gates are full of holes, into which are thrust the feet of the wicked, who cry, "Oh, woe on these feet!"—a fancy which will

¹ Emek Hammelech, f. 144.

² Simeon Haddarshan, Jalkuth Shimeoni, f. 46, 1.

recall to the reader Dante's famous image of the sinners punished with flames which quiver up and down the soles of their feet.¹

In the Rabbinic hell there is also a river of deadly taste, which is the counterpart of the classic Styx.²

1. Into Jewish conceptions of the condition of the blessed we need not inquire. The Jews, like most other nations, held that they would be happy for ever. Those who have believed in immortality at all, have, as a rule, believed that to the souls of the blessed, at any rate, blissful immortality would be an indefeasible possession.³ The special fancies of the Rabbis about Paradise are not particularly suggestive, nor do they throw any valuable light on the use of the word in the Gospels. We are not very particularly interested in their assurance that Paradise was created on the third day of the creation ;⁴ that it has two main divisions, of which the upper has rivers of balsam, and the lower is called *Apirjon*, or the bride's bed ;⁵ that it is immeasurable ; that it has three gates, of which one is at Bethshean ; that it is called by seven names, namely, the Bundle of Life, the Tabernacle, the Holy Hill, &c. ;⁶ and that the righteous therein are sustained by the dew of God, which flows upon them twice every day ; that it was measured by Rabbi Jehoshua Ben Levi, and found to be 120,000 square miles ; that it has seven compartments, presided over by Obadiah, Manasseh, &c., the dwellers of which receive varying rewards of happiness. Still less do we care to read the Rabbinic

¹ Dante, *Inferno*, xix.

² Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, 72 ; Tert. *Apol.* xlviii.

³ Origen, with his opinion as to cycles of probation, was an exception.

⁴ Jalkuth Shimeoni, f. 5, 2.

⁵ Zohar.

⁶ R. Manasseh Ben Israel, *Nishmath Chajim*, f. 26. 1.

description of its material splendours and sensuous enjoyments. The more interesting features to which the Talmudists allude are that one division of it is expressly set apart for those who have sinned and repented; that "every righteous man has an abode prepared for him in Paradise according to his distinction;"¹ that there is between Paradise and Gehenna so close a contiguity that the space between them is variously represented as a wall, or, as Rabbi Acha said, a hand-breadth, or, as others maintained, only the thickness of a thread.² The object of this contiguity is explained in the Midrash on Koheleth, where the question is asked, "Why hath the holy and blessed God created Paradise and hell?—That the one should be a deliverance from the other." Further, the Rabbis taught that before a child was born an angel placed on his head a burning candle—as it is said (Job xxix. 3), "When his candle shined upon my head"—and the child was then enabled to view the whole world through. Early in the morning the angel took it to Paradise, and shewing to it the redeemed sitting there, with garlands on their heads, explained that these were they who in life had kept the commandments of the holy and blessed God. In the evening the angel took the child to Gehenna, and shewed to it the wicked being scourged by the Angel of Destruction with fiery rods, and crying out, "O woe! O woe!" and explained to the child that these were they who on earth had been disobedient, and were therefore brought to shame. "Now must thou also go forth into the world. Be thou just, and not wicked, that thou mayest live."

¹ Jalkuth Chadash, f. 35, 2.

² Zijoni, f. 69, 3. For these later Talmudic references I am indebted to Stehelin's "Rabbinical Literature."

The Jews did not believe that the soul passed at once into the glories of Paradise. There was, they believed, a lower Paradise, to which at first they must necessarily go, until they had sufficiently got rid of the dulness and obscurity of corporeal life to be able to gaze on the light of God.¹ Souls in the lower Paradise were suffered on every Sabbath to climb up the pillar which separated the Lower from the Upper Paradise, and the glimpse which they thus obtained of the Divine Majesty was sufficient to support them until the next Sabbath came round.² And this Lower Paradise is the intermediate state between this corporeal world and that spiritual. It will be observed that the Rabbis never embraced that notion of the *ψυχοπαύση*, or intermediate night of the soul between death and resurrection, which was not unfrequent in earlier days of the Christian Church, and which found a supporter in Archbishop Whately. The soul of the departed righteous man, though not at once and finally separated from all earthly entanglements, yet passed into a bliss which was the dawn of its final and glorious consummation.

2. The place of punishment for those who had spent evil lives acquired the name of Gehenna at an early period after the Jews had attained any fixed conception about future rewards and punishments.

The history of the word is as follows. In the Book of Joshua we are told that the border of Judah went up by a valley outside Jerusalem, called in the same verse (Chap. xv. 8) "the valley of the *son of Hinnom*" and the "valley of Hinnom," which is a continuation of the Valley of the Giants (or Rephaim).

¹ Avodath Hakkodesh, f. 57, 2.

² Ja'kuth Chadash, f. 57, 2.

Of Hinnom nothing whatever is known, and no further mention of the place is made until we find (2 Chron. xxviii. 3) that Ahaz offered sacrifice "in the valley of the son of Hinnom." That this was done in connection with the worship of Molech, we infer from the fact that Manasseh (Chap. xxxiii. 6) "caused his children to pass through the fire" in the same place. In consequence of this profanation, Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10) defiled "Tophet, which is The valley of the *children of Hinnom*," doubtless by causing the dead bodies of criminals to be flung there unburied. The only other Old Testament writers who mention the valley by any of these names are Isaiah and Jeremiah. The latter tells us (Chap. xix. *passim*) that it was by the east, or "sun" gate; and on the very scene which the kings of Judah had "filled with the blood of innocents" in foul human sacrifice to heathen idols,¹ he is bidden to proclaim that the place shall no more be called "Tophet, nor The valley of the son of Hinnom, but The *valley of slaughter*," because the bodies of the apostate Israelites should there be buried, "till there be no place to bury," and the whole city should be made as Tophet, and the houses of Jerusalem and the houses of the kings of Judah should be defiled in the place of Tophet. One other allusion, and one alone, is found in Isaiah xxx. 33, where, in uttering the threat of doom upon Assyria, the prophet says that in Tophet a funeral pile, deep and large, is prepared for the king, and "the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it."

¹ Cf. Jer. xxxii. 35. In Jer. ii. 23 it is called "the valley," κατ' ἐξοχὴν. This is rendered by the LXX. ἐν τῇ πολυανδρίᾳ, "in the place where many lie buried." It is perhaps alluded to in Jer. xxxi. 40; Isa. xxii. 1, 5.

It will be thus seen at a glance that in no single place of the Old Testament is there any allusion to the Valley of Hinnom as a place of future punishment. All that Scripture so far tells us about it is summed up by Milton with that learned accuracy which characterizes him no less than the pomp and splendour of his verse. When speaking of Molech, he says :—

First Molech, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol, . . .

and made his grove
The pleasant Valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence,
And black Gehenna called, the type of Hell.

The poet here introduces two fresh particulars, namely, the pleasant character of the valley and the supposed derivation of the name Tophet. The former circumstance he derives from an allusion of Jerome, who says that in his time it was delightful with founts and gardens.¹ The derivation from *tóph*, a drum or tambourine (an onomatopœia like *τύπτω*, thump, dub, &c.), is uncertain, though generally adopted by the Rabbis.² The word may come from the Hebrew root which signifies spitting or abomination (Job xvii. 6), or from a Persian root, *toften*, "to burn," which was, however, in that case *surfrappé* according to a well-known linguistic instinct,³ in order to assimilate it to the Hebrew root which served to indicate a fragment of its history.

The Greek *γέεννα* is a mere transliteration of the

¹ One etymology derives it from *תַּפַּח*, to be fair. Rosenmüller, *Schol. ad. Jer.* vii. 31. Jerome speaks of it as *Siloae fontibus irrigata amœna atque nemorosa hodieque hortorum præbens delicias*, and as *plena deliciis* (Jer. ad. Jer. vii. 21; Matt. v. 22. ² Kimchi ad. 2 Kings xxiii. 10; Rashi ad. Jer. vii. 31, &c.

³ See Gesen. s. v.; Böttcher, *De Inferis*, p. 80. See my "Language and Languages," p. 119.

Chaldee *Gehinnam*. Neither our Lord nor his apostles chose, when speaking Greek, to substitute some inaccurate Greek expression for a Hebrew word which had acquired a distinct and technical meaning. They called Gehenna by its proper name, and our translators would have shewn a deeper wisdom than they have done if they had followed this sacred example. It is difficult to believe that Gehenna is not derived from the name Hinnom, as Rabbi Kimchi positively asserts. And yet it seems to be at least doubtful. Jerome says, *Vel hominis nomen, vel gratiam sonat*, and some have considered it to be an appellative ¹ derived from *nahan* or *hanan*, so as to make it mean "the valley of wailing." The all but universally accepted tradition that, to prevent the ill effects of pestilential effluvia from the corpses, large fires were lit in the valley, is not intrinsically improbable, but may have been suggested by Isaiah lxvi. 24, and rests on the *sole* authority of R. Kimchi ² and those who have accepted his assertion. In the traditional view of the Jews, therefore, the fires of Gehenna were originally fires of purification, not of punishment; but in the absence of corroborative evidence ³ we cannot tell whether the fire of Gehenna was not a conception borrowed from the fires of Molech, or from some natural mephitic fissure of occasionally ignited gases, which gave rise (as in the case of Aver-

¹ An appellative was sometimes treated as a proper name (see 1 Chron. iv. 14). No Hinnom or Ben-Hinnom is ever heard of. It was not probable that so large a valley should be the property of, or named after, one man. See Böttcher, *De Inferis*, p. 82.

² *Ad. Psa. xxvii. 13; 2 Kings xxiii. 10.* So, too, Jehuda Levi, *Cozri*, p. 73, ed. Buxtorf.

³ Böttcher, *De Inferis*, p. 82, and Rosenmüller, are almost the only scholars who have raised a warning voice against the too implicit acceptance of Kimchi's statement.

nus) to the notion that the valley was one of the gates of Hell, and may perhaps point to a connection between Tophet and the Greek root of *τύφος*. Certain it is that in the Talmudic treatise *Erubhin* (f. 19. 1) we find a passage stating that there were in the Valley of Hinnom two palms, between which smoke continually ascended, and that this was the mouth of Hell.

Passing from the Bible to Josephus, we find little of any importance on this subject, and nothing on which we can rely when it depends upon his sole authority. His numberless inaccuracies, his entire untrustworthiness when he could have had any object in giving his own colouring to the views of his countrymen, his avowed purpose of representing Jewish institutions to the Greeks in a pleasing light, would rob his testimony of any weight, even if he contributed to our inquiry anything beyond a few generalities, which are obviously coloured by notions which he had borrowed from a fragmentary acquaintance with Greek philosophy. The expressions which Josephus uses—such as “endless vengeance” (*ἀτδιος τιμωρία*, *B. J.* ii. 8, 14) and “endless prison” (*είργμος ἀτδιος*, *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3)—are neither scriptural nor Rabbinic, and his comparison of the Pharisees with the Stoics (*Vit.* 2) betrays the sort of spirit in which he writes. The expressions in the Targums which have been interpreted to mean endlessness are simply the usual scriptural expressions to which the Jews as a fact attached no such meaning. By the “second death” of the hopelessly wicked they appear generally to mean annihilation. In the Targums on Isaiah lxvi. 24, we find, “And the wicked shall be judged in Gehenna until the righteous say concerning them, ‘*We have seen enough.*’” This, in a

way very common to the Rabbis, is inferred by taking *רִיבּוֹן*, "contempt," to mean *רִיבּוֹן*.

Even in the Mishna and Gemara we find very little indeed about Gehenna. There are, in fact, but two specially important passages, one in Rosh Hashana (f. 17), in which we are told that a certain number of the worst offenders, unbelievers, adulterers, &c., go down into Gehenna, and are there judged from generation to generation; the other, in the Baba Metzia (f. 58), where it is said that, with the exception of the classes of offenders just mentioned—respecting whom the prevalent opinion was that they would be ultimately annihilated—"all who go down into Gehenna rise up again."

To give the various Rabbinic fancies about the size, the divisions, the varying degrees of punishment, the names, and the presiding angels or princes of Gehenna, would merely gratify an idle curiosity, and the more so as the later Talmudic treatises abound in the most flagrant contradictions. It is more important to observe that the view of the later Rabbis respecting the future destinies of Israelites closely resembled those of the Roman Catholics. The doctrine of purgatory and the doctrine of masses both find an analogy in Jewish teaching. As regards the first, most Rabbis have maintained that the souls, even of holy Israelites, must pass, by way of atonement, through penal flames. The period of punishment was, for the righteous, very brief; and it is deeply touching and interesting to find that the object of this passage through purgatorial fire is not only the burning out of the sinful stains which even good men have contracted, but also that they may cover with a garment the naked and shivering

souls of guilty Israelites.¹ The use of the *Kaddish*, or prayer for the dead, is very ancient, and by it—as by “masses”—sons were supposed to deliver their parents from Gehenna. This practice was confirmed by Genesis xv. 15, where it is said to Abraham “that he should go to his fathers in peace,” whence it was inferred that the salvation of Terah was revealed to Abraham.

As is natural in all religions, the Jews mainly concerned themselves with the fate of their own countrymen in the future world ; and amid many contradictions, such as are of course inevitable when men are speaking of things unrevealed, we find among the Rabbis two broad conceptions. (1) That all Israelites will ultimately be saved ; (2) That this deliverance will be brought about by redemptive agencies of the Messiah, Abraham, Elias, and those who have lived holy lives.

(1) Circumcision was regarded as being, practically, an amulet against hell. It is true that, in the *Bereishith Rabba* and other treatises, we are told, on the authority of Rabbi Levi, that though Abraham sits at the gate of Gehenna expressly to prevent the circumcised from entering it, yet, if an Israelite has been quite hopelessly and abominably wicked, he is rendered uncircumcised by being clothed with the foreskins of infants who have died before the rite, in accordance with Psalm lv. 20, “He hath put forth his hands against such as be at peace with him ; he hath broken his covenant.” Still the Rabbis are very chary of supposing that any Israelite can perish. In the *Torath Adam* we are told, on the authority of R. Jehoshua Ben Levi, that there are seven divisions of Gehenna,

¹ Emek Hammelech, f. 23, 4 ; Stehelin, “Rabbinic Lit.” ii. 45.

in each of which are ten of the seventy nations of the world, who are scourged respectively by the seven angels, Kushiel, Lahariel, Shafrael, Maccathiel, Pusiell, Chatriel, and Dalkiel; and with them in each division are Absalom, Doeg, Korah and his company, Micah, Ahab, Jeroboam, and Elisha Ben Abihu. But after the punishment of the Gentiles in their divisions has been described, it is added of each of these Jews in succession that they are exempted from the punishment, "because he is the one of the sons of my beloved who said at Sinai, All that the Lord hath said will we do, and be obedient." In accordance with this we are told, both in *Erubhin* (f. 19, 1) and *Chagiga* (f. 27, 1), that the fire of Gehenna has no power over Israelites and over the disciples of the wise. In short, the prevalent notion seems to be most briefly expressed in a Rabbinic treatise¹ which says that "both the Israelites and the nations of the world shall go down into Gehenna: the latter shall be destroyed; the former shall come out unhurt; as it is written in Isaiah xliii. 2, 'When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be hurt.'"

(2) As to redemptive agencies, I have already referred to the notion that the righteous passing through Gehenna cover the guilty with a garment, and we have the following passages, which involve a similar conception.

Sinful Israelites, says the *Jalkuth Chadash*, are put into hell, not that they be consumed, but only that they may be terrified. Abraham passed through the fire (*Ur*) of the Chaldees (*Chasdim*), that by his merit he might save them, in accordance with the promise made

¹ *Pesikta Rabatha*, f. 171, 3; *Stehelin*, ii. 51.

to him in Genesis xv. 10, *et seq.*: "For the holy and blessed God set before him exile, imprisonment, and Gehenna; and he chose imprisonment, that he might deliver his children from Gehenna."

In another treatise we are told that Elijah prevents the continuance of faulty Israelites in Gehenna by taking their punishment upon himself.

In the Emek Hammelech we find this remarkable paragraph, which may serve as a Rabbinic parallel to the article of our creed, "He descended into hell." After telling us that the wicked are to continue in Gehenna till the Resurrection, the writer adds: "And then shall the Son of David, the Messiah, who is David himself, pass through the same, in order to redeem them."

Even individual Rabbis are invested with this power of deliverance. Rabbi Jochanan, as I mentioned in a former paper, saves from Gehenna the guilty soul of the apostate Acher.²

Thus, too, in the Nishmath Chajim there is a very striking legend about R. Akibha. Seeing a man running under a burden of fuel with the speed of a horse, he stops and interrogates him, and finds that he is a lost soul. He asks the spirit—who is condemned to carry fuel to Gehenna—whether he has there ever heard of any means of deliverance. "Yes," the man says. "If I only had a son who could repeat the prayer, 'Blessed be the blessed Lord,' for me, I could be delivered. But I left my wife pregnant, and neither know whether she bore a son or a daughter, nor, if it were a son, whether the child was instructed in the Law." Akibha inquired his name, his wife's name, and his native city.

² THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vii. p. 52.

The man tells him, and with patient self-denial the great Rabbi finds the city, and is told that the man and his wife had left a most evil name behind them, and that their son had not even been circumcised. The Rabbi, taking the lad and finding him wholly incapable of instruction, fasted forty days for his sake. At the end of that time a Voice asks him "whether he is really fasting for the lad's sake?" and on his answering "yes," immediately the lad is able to read the alphabet, and Akibha is soon able to teach him the *Shema*, the *Kaddish*, and the Jewish liturgy in general. Instructed by the Rabbi, the boy repeats the prayer for the dead in the proper posture, and his father is at once liberated from Gehenna, and appears to Akibha in a dream, to thank and to bless him.

As to the condition of the wicked, while a few Rabbis believed that for the utterly and hopelessly abandoned, who had in life done and desired nothing good, and had broken all the commandments, there would be endless torments, this has never at any period been a belief of the Jewish Church; and the opinions of individual Rabbis—even while they repeated the scriptural phrases of punishment for æons on æons, &c.—wavered between Annihilationism and Universal Restoration.

The final annihilation of the wicked appears to be taught in Rosh Hashana, where it is said that, at the end of twelve months' punishment in Gehenna, the bodies of guilty Israelites are wasted and their souls consumed in the fire. "And the wind disperses the ashes under the soles of the feet of the righteous, as it is said in Malachi iv. 3, 'They shall be ashes under the soles of your feet.'" Yet to this paragraph a later

treatise¹ adds "that the righteous come at the end of twelve months, and say unto God, 'Lord of the world, these are they who, morning and evening in the synagogues did pronounce the *Shema*, and did keep the commandments.' Whereupon the holy One, blessed be He, saith, '*If so, then go and heal them.*' Immediately the righteous go and stand upon the ashes of the wicked and pray for their pardon, and the holy and blessed God causeth them to rise from their ashes under the feet of the righteous, and to stand upon their feet, and *they are conducted to eternal life.*"

Undoubtedly the prevalent view was that of a final deliverance. The Rabbis, like so many of the Christian Fathers, believed in certain alleviations of the sufferings of the lost. There was "a Sabbath of the damned," in which they enjoyed a cessation from torture—at the new moons and Sabbaths—as was inferred from Isaiah lxvi. 23, so that even the lost are crowned with the crown of the Sabbath. "The holy and blessed God hath compassion on them three times a day, an hour and a half at a time." The three gates of Gehenna are at those times opened, and three angels fan away its smoke with fire-shovels, that the lost may see the light. These remissions (like the *refrigeria* of the Fathers) also take place when the Israelites are at their prayers. The only sinners whom some Rabbis excepted from the sphere of these mercies are those who had no spark of holiness, and who are confined in that boiling ordure which is the lowermost abyss.²

The limit most frequently fixed by Rabbinic writers

¹ Jalkuth Shimeoni ; Stehelin, ii. 62.

² See my paper on "Christians in the Talmud." THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vi. p. 426.

to the sufferings of the lost is twelve months, half of which, according to the Zohar, they spend in fire and half in snow—a notion which is reflected in Shakespeare's—

To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice ; ¹

and in Milton's—

Thither by harpy-footed Furies haled,
At certain revolutions, all the damn'd
Are brought ; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging fire to starve in ice
Their soft ethereal warmth ; ²

and in Dante's—

Io vengo per menarvi all' altra riva,
Nelle tenebre eterne in caldo e in gelo. ³

In the Nishmath Chajim (f. 83, 1) is this passage. "The punishment of the generation of the Flood continued a twelvemonth. The punishment of the Egyptians in Egypt continued a twelvemonth. The punishment of Job continued a twelvemonth. The punishment of the wicked in Gehenna lasteth a twelvemonth, as doth the punishment of Gog and Magog. Afterwards the souls become pure, and return to their first elements ; and of them it is said in Zechariah xiii. 9, "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and refine them as silver." The same limit is fixed in the Rosh Hashana, the Jalkuth Shimeoni, the Ir Gibborina, and other treatises.

I conclude with one of those Rabbinic legends the essential grandeur of which appears even through their fantastic verbosity, which here, as in other instances, I

¹ "Measure for Measure," iii. 1.

² "Paradise Lost," ii. 600.

³ *Inferno*, i. i. 29 ; *Purg.* iii. 11.

greatly abbreviate. It is found in the *Othoth* attributed to R. Akibha. It tells us that the holy and blessed God hath a key of Hell, as it is said in Isaiah xxvi. 2, "Open ye the gates, that the righteous nations which observe the Amens (reading *Shomer amenim* for *Shomer emunim*, 'that keep the truth') may enter in." For the wicked on account of their saying Amen are delivered out of Gehenna. How will this happen? The holy One, blessed be He, will sit in Paradise and preach, and all the righteous will sit before Him, and they of the Chief Household (the holy angels) will stand on their feet. And the Holy One will explain to them the new Law which He will give by the Messiah. At his right will be the Sun and the Planets, at his left the Moon and Stars. And when He comes to the Hagada, then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel will rise to his feet and repeat the Kaddish, "Blessed be the name of the holy and blessed God." And his voice will pass from one end of the world to the other, and all the world shall say Amen, yea, even the wicked of Israel, and the righteous of the nations of the world, who still remain in Gehenna, shall say Amen! And the whole world shall be moved, and God shall ask for their sakes, "What is that voice and emotion?" And the angels shall say that "the answer comes out of Gehenna." Whereupon God shall take compassion on them, and say, "What! shall I add to the punishment they have suffered already? Corrupt nature (the *Yetzer ha-ra*) was the cause of their transgression." In the same hour He shall deliver keys to Michael and Gabriel, to open the four hundred gates of Gehenna, and to set free the lost. They shall take each by the hand, and pull him up as out of a pit, as it is

said, "*He brought me also out of the horrible pit, out of the mire and clay.*" Then they shall wash, anoint, heal, and clothe them in fine white raiment, and take them before the holy God. And God shall say, "Let them enter, that they may behold my glory." And when they are entered they shall fall on their faces, and bless, and praise, and worship the holy and blessed God; and the perfectly righteous will sit before Him, to give Him thanks and exalt Him, as it is said, "The righteous also shall give thanks unto thy name."

F. W. FARRAR.

BIBLICAL NOTES.

1. THE OFFERING OF THE FIRST FRUITS.—"The first fruits were always brought to Jerusalem with great pomp and display. The Talmud says that all the cities which were of the same course of priests gathered together in one of the cities which was a priestly station, and they lodged in the streets. In the morning he who was chief among them said, 'Arise, let us go up to Zion, to the house of the Lord our God.' An ox went before them with gilded horns, and an olive crown was on his head. This ox was intended for a peace offering, to be eaten by the priests in the Court of the Sanctuary. The pipe played before the procession until it approached Jerusalem. When they drew near to the holy city, the first fruits were 'crowned' and exposed to view with great ostentation. Then the chief men and the high officers and the treasurers of the Temple came out to meet them, and receive them with honour. And all the workmen in Jerusalem rose up in their shops, and thus they saluted them: 'O our brethren, inhabitants of such a city, ye are welcome.' The pipe played before them till they came to the Temple Mount. Every one, even King Agrippa himself, took his basket upon his shoulder, and went forward till he came to the court. Then the Levites sang, 'I will exalt thee, O Lord, because thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me' (Psa. xxx. 1). While the basket is still on his shoulder, he (the offerer) says, 'I profess this day to the Lord my God.' And when he repeats the passage, 'A

Syrian ready to perish was my father' (Deut. xxvi. 3-5), he casts the basket down from his shoulder, and keeps silent while the priest waves it hither and thither at the south-west corner of the altar. The whole passage of Scripture being then recited as far as the tenth verse (*i. e.*, of Deut. xxvi.), he places the basket before the altar—he worships—and goes out. The baskets of the rich were of gold or silver. The baskets of the poor were of peeled willow. These latter, together with their contents, were presented to the priests in service. The more valuable baskets were returned to their owners. They used to hang turtle-doves and young pigeons round their baskets, which were adorned with flowers. These were sacrificed for burnt offerings. The parties who brought the first fruits were obliged to lodge in Jerusalem all the night after they brought them, and the next morning they were allowed to return home. The first fruits were forbidden to be offered before the Feast of Pentecost, and after the Feast of Dedication."

2. THE WORSHIP OF MOLECH.—"The image of Molech was made of brass. It was hollow within, and heated with fire outside. It stood in the Valley of Hinnom, without the walls of Jerusalem. Kimchi says the shrine of Molech contained seven chapels. These chapels were supposed by some to represent the seven planets. In the first chapel, flowers were offered; in the second, turtle-doves or young pigeons; in the third, lambs; in the fourth, rams; in the fifth, calves; in the sixth, oxen; 'but whosoever offered his son, they opened to him the seventh chapel.' The face of Molech was like the face of a calf, and the image stretched forth its hands 'as a man who opens his hands to receive something of his neighbour.' 'They kindled the image with fire, and the priest took the babe and put it into the hands of Molech, and the babe gave up the ghost.' They called it Tophet, because they made a noise with drums (*tophim*), that the father might not hear the screams of his child and have pity upon him. And they called it Hinnom, because the child roared (*menahem*) in his anguish. Others say it was called Hinnom because the priests used to say, 'May it profit (יחנה) thee—may it be sweet to thee.'"—*Dr. Barclay on the Talmud.*

BRIEF NOTICES OF BOOKS.

NINE LECTURES ON PREACHING. *By R. W. Dale, M.A.* (London : Hodder and Stoughton.) The only grave error I have detected in this book is that Mr. Dale affirms himself to be retailing mere commonplace, whereas he is in truth enriching us with that precious rarity—common sense. He has conferred upon us a far more acceptable gift than that “complete and systematic course of homiletics” which he regrets his inability to bestow. He has thrown the result of his personal experience and observation into general terms, giving us truths which he has passed through the crucible of his own mind and heart ; and that is precisely the most valuable boon, if men did but know it, which any man can confer upon us—truth as it has shaped itself in his own mind, tasted and tested in his own experience. As might be expected, therefore, Mr. Dale’s Lectures are full of practical wisdom and intense devotion. Any man may read them with as keen an interest as the last good novel, simply for the vitality and beauty of the style in which they are written. No student or preacher can read them without being the wiser and the better for them. Good sense carried to its highest power—a kind of glorified good sense—lit up by lively strokes of humour and wit, informed by a manly and unaffected piety, and at times rising easily and naturally into the noblest forms of eloquence—as, for example, in the splendid eulogium and defence of the English language with which Lecture VI. closes : this, I think, will be the verdict passed on this most attractive and valuable book by every competent judge.

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF ST. JAMES, WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION. *By Professor Plumptre, D.D.* (University Press, Cambridge.) This is only a part of the Cambridge Bible for Schools, and may be bought for a few pence. Nevertheless it is, so far as I know, by far the best exposition of the Epistle of St. James in the English language. Not schoolboys or students going in for an examination alone, but ministers and preachers of the Word, may get more real help from it than from the most costly and elaborate commentaries.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF JAMES HINTON. *Edited by Ellice Hopkins.* (London : C. Kegan Paul and Co.) James Hinton was the most eager, fertile, and original thinker I have ever met. After twenty years of intimate friendship, I thought I knew him well ; but the Letters collected in this volume, and edited with rare delicacy and skill, have taught me that I did not know “the half” of his wisdom

and goodness. As they read them, those who knew him can hear the very man himself, talking as only he could talk, and may find the whole secret of his philosophy revealed. But there is far more, and better, in these Letters than even this. It is impossible to read them without feeling that you are brought soul to soul with one of the noblest of men. A spirit more unselfish, more unworldly, more habitually animated by lofty spiritual aims—in a word, a spirit more truly *Christian*, or, as he perhaps would have named it, more *altruistic*, can hardly have worn flesh, at least in these modern days. It is a thing to thank God for that such men should even now and then appear among us.

THE CROSS OF CHRIST: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION AND THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH.—*By Rev. Otto Zoëckler, D.D. Translated, with the co-operation of the Author, by Rev. Maurice I. Evans, B.A.* (London: Hodder and Stoughton.) In this volume we have rather the materials for many books than a book in the artistic sense, since it lacks the unity which springs from a single controlling purpose well borne in mind. It is a vast repertory of facts, collected with a truly German industry and erudition, concerning the history of the Cross as a symbol of art and worship, combined with an endeavour to reach its theological significance in the successive and various creeds of Christendom. The learned Professor, in this close-packed and far-reaching monograph, treats of the Cross in the pre-Christian and extra-Christian religions, the Cross upon Calvary, the Cross in the pre-Constantine Church and theology, the adoration of the Cross as initiated in the Church of Rome, the Cross in the Church of the Middle Ages, the Cross in the theology and Church of the Reformation, and the Cross in the present and future of the Church. On all these large and momentous topics he writes with a learning, a good sense, and a reasonable yet devout piety which cannot fail to render his work welcome and valuable. It is a quarry from which many good stones may be hewn.

S. COX.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

THE INSCRIPTION. (CHAPTER XIX. VERSES 23-29.)

THERE is no passage in the whole Poem which has attracted more attention than this, or has been more variously interpreted. It commands attention, for it breaks from the context like light from darkness ; it soars and towers above it, like a mountain rising precipitously from the plain. From the very depths of his despair Job springs up to the sublime and immovable conviction that, on some happy though distant day, the God who now seems to be his Adversary will prove to be his Friend, clearing him from every charge, delivering him out of all his miseries, and avenging him on all who had set themselves against him. The transition is so abrupt, the inflow of light so sudden and unexpected, as of itself to arrest attention.

Obviously, too, the inspired Poet intended to arrest and fix our attention. *He* is as conscious as we are that his words are weighty with memorable significance, and rise high above their ordinary level ; for he calls our attention to them by a brief preface in which he employs figures so striking as to quicken wonder and expectation. The words Job is about to utter are no passing expression of a passing mood. They embody his innermost and most abiding convictions. He is fain to have them written down in "*the book*," *i. e.*, in the Public Book, the State Chronicle, in which only

the most illustrious acts and sayings were preserved for the instruction of after ages. Nay, so weighty are they with meaning, and so convinced is he of their truth and value, he would even have them cut with an iron stylus, or chisel, deep into the face of some great rock, and the letters thus hewn into the stone filled up with lead, that they may withstand the devouring tooth of Time, and speak of him, and for him, for ever. Words so introduced must be of the gravest moment. Why should they be inscribed in the golden Book of State, why engraved in monumental characters on the eternal Rock, if he did not hold them to be of transcendent and immortal worth?

For many reasons this Inscription demands and requires special and searching examination. The Poet himself has a high sense of its value. We cannot so much as glance over it without becoming aware that it enshrines truths which are of the utmost moment to us and to all men. In the Original, moreover, it is couched in the brief compressed phrases, with heavy pauses between the phrases, proper to a monumental record; so that it is often difficult to catch the exact shade of thought in it, and the connecting links, or the transitions, from one thought to another; so difficult that almost every phrase has been differently read by different commentators, and grave diversities of opinion still obtain even on the main sense, the ruling interpretation, of the whole passage. We must, therefore, devote special attention to it; (1) seeking to define, by an accurate exegesis, the meaning of every separate word and clause; and then (2) selecting that interpretation of the passage as a whole to which the meaning of its several parts most clearly points.

But, even before we commence our examination of it, we must try to fit this passage into the main drift and argument of the Chapter. In so far, then, as the passage is polemical, part of Job's reply to Bildad, it connects itself with it thus. Bildad had threatened him (Chap. xviii. 17-20) that his name and memory should perish; that posterity would either utterly forget him, or remember only to condemn him with horror and amazement. Job now makes a solemn and formal appeal to posterity. So far from forgetting or condemning him, he is sure that subsequent generations will remember the story of his faith and patience, and "the end of the Lord" concerning him, with sympathy and admiration: he is sure that he has at least one thing to say which the world will never let die, one bequest to make which cannot fail to bear his name honourably down the stream of time. This treasure is the truth, the fact, of a life beyond the grave, a *retributive* life, in which every man will receive the due reward of his deeds far more fully and exactly than in this present life.

Now great moral truths are never discovered by nations or races, but by individual men. And yet even the wisest and most forward-looking men but rarely discover a truth much in advance of the thoughts and yearnings of their own race, in their own generation. As a rule the new truth is in the air of the time; many have some dim consciousness or presentiment of it, and are groping after it, if haply they may find it. And at last one man, one happy man, prepared for the achievement by the peculiar bent of his nature, or gifted with the vision and the faculty divine, or driven onward by peculiar personal experiences into untrodden

regions of thought, grasps the present and widely-diffused but evasive truth, and compels it into a definite and permanent form. Of this common process of discovery we probably have an illustration in the case of Job. There are many indications that, both in the patriarchal age, *i.e.*, the time of Job himself, and in the Solomonic age, *i.e.*, the time of the Poet to whom we owe this *divina commedia*, the thought of a better and more enduring life, a strictly *moral* life, hidden from men by the darkness of death, was in the atmosphere; that the best and highest minds were reaching after it and yearning for it. And in Job this general thought took form, this common yearning rose to articulate expression, this wide-spread hope became a living and vitalizing faith. His personal experience, the wrongs and calamities he endured, the doubts and conflicts these miseries bred in his heart, prepared and qualified him to become the interpreter of the general heart of his time, to discover the truth which alone could satisfy it. It was simply impossible for him, since he believed the great Ruler of men to be just and unchangeable, to conclude that the God whom he had done nothing to offend was really hostile to him, though He seemed hostile, or that He would always continue to *seem* hostile to him, never acknowledging his integrity. And as he had lost all hope of being redeemed and vindicated in this life, as therefore he could no longer admit the present to be a strictly retributive life, he was compelled to look for, till he discovered, a retributive life beyond "the bourn." Fading out of this world, he looks for, and finds, a juster and a better world to come. *This* I believe to be the root of the whole matter, simple as it sounds; *this* the line along which Job's

thoughts travelled, or flew, to the lofty conclusion he reached; *this* the spring of living water that threw up the beautiful fountain of hope which still attracts our eyes.

I. Bearing the origin of Job's hope in mind we shall the better understand the Inscription in which it is most clearly and strongly expressed. This Inscription is introduced by a brief Preface, *Verses* 23, 24. Whatever may become of his other words—some of which he elsewhere admits were “windy words,” and therefore might well be left to be blown away by the wind,—he wants the words he is about to utter to remain. They express his deepest, his unalterable, convictions. His previous Speeches reflect all the fluctuating and uncertain moods and emotions of his soul,—his doubts and fears, his cravings and aspirations, his indignation against God and man: but now he is going to say only what he is *sure of*, what he *knows*. And, therefore, he wishes his words to be written down in *the book*, a book formed of skins or parchments, as the etymology of the Hebrew word denotes; he would have them enshrined in the most permanent form of ancient literature, in the public records in which only the most memorable words and deeds were inscribed (Schultens, *in loco*).¹ Nay, more, he is conscious of such a worth in his words that even parchment is not durable enough for him, nor are the public chronicles guarded with sufficient care. He would fain have them *cut deep in the rock*, raised above all the accidents of time,

¹ Although, on the authority of Schultens, I have assumed the existence of a public record, or state-book, in which memorable events were inscribed, I am bound to add that many of our best scholars deny that we have any proof of the existence of such a book or record among the Arab races of the time of Job, or even of the time of the Poet to whom we are indebted for this great drama.

that they may speak with an eternal tongue to the fugitive generations of men. And, in very deed, his wish has been more than fulfilled; for, as St. Chrysostom, commenting on these Verses, finely says: "Job's words have not been written down with an iron stylus, as he desired, but far more durably. Had they been written as he wished, time would have obliterated them; but they have been inscribed in the imperishable records of Holy Scripture. They are graven on the rock of God's Word, and there they are still read, and minister comfort to all generations."

But all this is only preface. The Inscription itself is contained in Verses 25-27. In the Hebrew it is written throughout in the true monumental, or lapidary, style, the style appropriate to words which were to be so laboriously hewn and engraved. The thought is crushed into the fewest possible phrases, the phrases into the fewest possible words; and, as might be expected in so memorable a sentence, a sentence designed to quicken thought and hope in many generations, at least some of the words are capable of a double sense, and the full intention of the whole is not to be arrived at save with labour and pains. Let us take it word by word.

Verse 25.—**I know.** The Hebrew verb denotes absolute perception, absolute cognition, absolute certainty of knowledge. It is no mere guess, speculation, yearning that we are to hear from him, but that of which he is intimately persuaded, profoundly and unalterably convinced; the very best and surest thing he has to tell us.

My redeemer, literally "*my Goel.*" This *Goel* is a name for the next of kin, who, among the Hebrews and

Arabs, was bound to redeem a kinsman who had fallen into debt or bondage, and to avenge his blood if he had been slain in a *vendetta*, in a family or clan quarrel. Job's choice of this remarkable and most expressive word may have been in part determined by a thought he had already expressed in Chapter xvi. 18, where, as we have seen, while formally appealing to the earth not to hide his innocent blood, he really appeals to the very God who had shed his blood to avenge it, to avow and establish his innocence. But we cannot here take the word at less than its full worth, as including the Redeemer as well as the Avenger. Though he now lies crushed and abandoned on the earth, Job is sure that his Goel will interpose, both to rescue him from his bondage to loss and pain, calumny and death, and to avenge him on those who, while professing to be his friends, are nevertheless his "adversaries without cause." And assuredly, Job had no mere man, or kinsman, in his thoughts. Men, even the best and most beloved, had utterly failed him, and revolted from him, deeming him to be accursed. Were they who added to his pains the most exquisite torture of all, stretching him on the rack of their pious suspicions and censures, at all likely to confront even men on his behalf? How much less, then, were they likely to confront the Almighty Himself? His Goel could only be the God whom he had already besought to decide for a man against Himself, of whose eternal justice he was so fully persuaded as to believe that He would raise and vindicate the very man whom He Himself had smitten to the earth. This point—an important one—is put beyond all doubt by the first clause of the next Verse, from which we learn both that Job expected to *see* this

Goel, and *to find God* in Him—"from my flesh shall I see *God*."

This Goel liveth. He has not to come into being; He exists. So much at least the verb implies, even if it does not imply, as some contend, that Job's Redeemer and Avenger, because He has life in Himself, always has lived and always will live. Probably the tacit antithesis in the Poet's mind was simply this: "I die, but my Goel does not; he lives."

And he shall stand; or, more literally, "*he shall rise up*" — "*rise up*," even after Job has "*gone down*" into Hades and the grave; rise up, as the word hints, like a conqueror, a redeemer, a redeemer being always a conqueror: for how should he deliver the captive save by subduing his captor? There will be a victorious apparition, manifestation, epiphany of the Goel, who is even now already resenting the wrongs of his kinsman and arming Himself for his deliverance.

At last. The original word is ambiguous, and may be taken substantively or adverbially. Many scholars take it in the first way, and render it by *ein Nachmann*, a Survivor. They understand Job to mean that this *Goel*, who *lives* and is to appear for him, is absolutely "the Last One," that He is to survive all men, that He remains unchanged through all the sorrowful and obscuring changes of time; that, as "the Last One," He has power and right to pronounce the final word of every controversy; that, as "the Survivor" of Job, He is bound to vindicate and avenge him. But, though in itself the word be ambiguous, the common Hebrew usage of it demands, I think, that it should be taken adverbially, that we should render it by "*at last*." Purposely or necessarily, because he did not know or

did not wish to say *when* his deliverance should come, Job leaves the time of it indefinite. He simply throws it forward far into the future, to some distant date unknown or undetermined.

Over this dust. "*Upon the earth*" is the rendering of our Authorized Version, and is perhaps as good and probable a rendering as that given in the text, although many recent Commentators give the preference to the former. Here, again, however, we have an ambiguous phrase, capable of more than one sense. It is not only that we may choose between "over my dust" and "upon the earth;" but even if we prefer the former, are we to take it literally? Could Job have meant that the victorious apparition of the Goel was to take place over his tomb? In all probability he was as ignorant of *the scene* of his deliverance as of *the time* and *the manner* of it; and had he been called upon to give it a local habitation and a name, would have placed it, as we shall see, in Hades, the unseen world beyond the grave, of which he knew so little. It is better, therefore, to take this phrase metaphorically, and to understand it as equivalent to "*after my death.*"

A German scholar (Oettinger) summarizes the Verse thus: "I know that He (the Goel) will at last come, place Himself over the dust in which I have mouldered away, pronounce my cause just, and place the crown of victory on my head." But, without adding anything to the sense of the words, I believe we may venture to draw out and expand his summary, that we may, indeed, more adequately summarize the contents of the Verse thus: "I, for my part, know—though I know not *how* I know—and am sure, that my Goel

already exists, and is preparing to take up my cause; that God Himself will be my Goel, that *He* will do a kinsman's part by me, both redeeming me from my miseries and wrongs and avenging me on those who have inflicted them upon me. *When* He will come I know not, nor what will be the scene and theatre of his interposition; but this I know, that at last—far off—long after I have sunk into the tomb, He will appear for me, clad in robes of victory and of judgment."

Verse 26.—And after my body: literally, "after my skin." Possibly the word "skin" is here used for "body," because Job had just complained (Verse 20) that nothing was left of his body but skin and bone, that he had escaped only with the skin of his teeth. Possibly, as my friend Dr. Morison suggests—for the construction of the whole phrase is very rude and primitive—he may mean "when that which is *within* my skin," now dropping from me, has been destroyed. But however we account for the word or take the phrase, there can hardly be a doubt he means to say that the process of disease, which has already worked such strange and dreadful havoc in his flesh, will go on until his body, to the last fibre and integument of it, is consumed. For this meaning is sustained by the clauses which precede and follow this.

Hath thus. As he utters the word "thus," it is but natural to suppose him pointing to his rotting and emaciated frame.

Been destroyed. The verb implies extreme violence. It might be rendered, "*has been torn in pieces and devoured,*" and admirably denotes both the gnawing pangs of his disease and the dreadful waste and havoc it inflicted.

Taking the phrase, "*And after my body hath thus been destroyed,*" as a whole, there really seems no room to doubt that Job fully expected a speedy death, fully expected, therefore, that his deliverance would not take place till after his death. The conclusion is put, one should think, wholly beyond question when we combine with this phrase the final clause of the previous Verse, "*And he shall stand at last over this dust.*" And yet there are scholars who gravely maintain these phrases to mean no more than that Job believed he should be *reduced to a mere skeleton* before God appeared to save and clear him, that his rehabilitation would therefore take place in this present life! If he meant no more than that, he has surely taken the strangest way of conveying his meaning. A man whose body is torn to pieces, devoured, destroyed, reduced to dust, *should* be dead, if words have any force or significance. And, moreover, if Job only intended to predict an occurrence so common as the restoration of life, health, and wealth, to one emaciated by disease and broken by misfortune, why does he introduce his prediction with such an amazing pomp and emphasis? Why speak as though he had lit on some grand discovery so invaluable and transcendent that it deserved to be written in the State Chronicle and cut deep in the Rock for ever? The whole tone, no less than the express words, of the Inscription demand a far larger interpretation than this.

Yet from my flesh. Another ambiguity, and possibly another studied ambiguity, meets us here. For the Hebrew word translated variously "from," "in," "out of," "without," my flesh—"from" being the literal translation—may be taken, and indeed is taken, in

either of two senses. (1) Many take it, not wholly without reason, as equivalent to "*in* my flesh." They regard the body as the place out of which Job is to look when he sees God. For them the phrase means, "*Looking out from* my flesh." (2) Others take it as equivalent to "*free from*," "stript of," "outside," my flesh. Unclothed by this body, or by any body, I shall look for and find my Goel. Thus Ewald renders it, "und *ohne* mein Fleisch;" and Heiligstedt, "*sine* carne mea."¹ In the first case, Job counts on a restored physical life, a new body; and in the second, he expects a spiritual vision of God. And though the other conclusion is supported by some weighty authorities, I cannot but think that the latter of these two, a spiritual vision, agrees better than the first with the whole tone and movement of his thought. For, obviously, he is expecting a Divine Vindication of his integrity only after he lies in the dust; and it is not likely that, with this great hope suddenly invading his mind and taking instant but full possession of it, he would at once begin to speculate on whether or not, when he had shuffled off the loathsome coil in which he was entangled, he should be clothed upon with "flesh" in some new and higher form. Such a speculation would

¹ There is a striking illustration of the double sense which this word "*from*" bears, even in the English usage of it, in Shakespeare's *King Richard the Third* (Act. iv. Scene 4). In the dialogue between the King and his brother's widow, Queen Elizabeth, the following passage of arms occurs:—

K. Rich. Then know that *from* my soul I love thy daughter.

Q. Eliz. My daughter's mother thinks it *with* her soul.

K. Rich. What do you think?

Q. Eliz. That thou dost love my daughter *from* thy soul :
So *from* thy soul's love didst thou love her brothers ;
And *from* my heart's love I do thank thee for it.

K. Rich. Be not so hasty to confound my meaning ;
I mean that *with* my soul I love thy daughter ;
And mean to make her queen of England.

have been well-nigh impossible at such a time. That Job, rising from his long agony, his long inquest, to a sudden recognition of a great light of hope burning behind the dark curtains of death, and so far streaming through them as to give him courage to sustain a burden otherwise intolerable, should instantly fall into a curious speculation about "in the body," or "out of the body," would be contrary to all the laws which, as experience proves, govern the human mind at a crisis such as that at which he had arrived. And, therefore, though, with the best Commentators, we understand him to be simply looking forward to some spiritual vision of the Divine justice and grace, we shall do well to retain some word as ambiguous as his own, and to conclude that as he neither knew when, or in what form, the great deliverance for which he hoped would be vouchsafed him, so also he neither knew nor curiously inquired *how*, in what form, it would find him when it came. All he knew was that, somehow, after his loathsome body had been destroyed, God would redeem him; but whether he would then be in a body or out of a body, he cannot tell and does not speculate. It will be after death. It will be in Hades, perhaps; but of the physical conditions of Hades he knows, and professes to know, nothing.

Shall I see God. No one short of God can be his Goel in the region on which he is about to enter. And as he *must* see his Goel—for what to him is any vindication of which he is unconscious? and how can he be delivered without being sensible of it?—he must see God.

Verse 27.—On this point he is absolute, recurring to it again and again even in this brief Inscription.

As, for example, in the very next words. "**Whom I shall see ;**" and see "**for me,**" that is, *on my side*, redressing the wrongs which He Himself has inflicted, and clearing the character which He Himself has brought under suspicion ; no longer an Adversary, but a Champion ; no longer *against me*, but *for me*.

So, once more, in the next clause of the Verse. **And mine own eyes shall behold, not those of another :** by which, of course, he does not mean to assert that *no one but himself* will be cognizant of his vindication ; but that, come when it may, *he himself must be cognizant of it ;* that, even though it should come when men account him dead, he shall be alive unto God and to the action of God on his behalf. There are men among us now—men surely not more unselfish and generous than Job, nor in any way of finer moral calibre—to whom "immortal life" means only "posthumous energy" and influence, who flatter themselves that they shall be content to die, and may even be said to live, if only the good they do lives after them. But such a life as that is no life to Job. *He* cannot be content with a posthumous vindication of which he is to know nothing. He must himself be there to behold and share the triumph of his Divine Goel. That others behold it is not enough. Half, if not all, the pathos of his words springs indeed from this intense and passionate regard for his character, his righteousness. He cleaves to it, and will not let it go, though all the winds and storms of Heaven beat upon him. His one thought, repeated in many forms, is,—

The good I stand on is my truth and honesty ;
If these should fail, I, with mine enemies,
Will triumph o'er my person, which I weigh not,
Being of those virtues vacant.

But if this supreme good is not to fail him, if his truth and honesty—his integrity to Heaven—are to be vindicated, then he feels that the vindication will not be complete unless he, in his own person, is present to witness and rejoice in it.

It seems like trifling to come down from this high passion and flight of a much-tormented human spirit to observe that no sinister inference, no logical or dogmatic inference of any kind, can be fairly drawn from Job's use of the word "*eyes*." It *would* be trifling if some grave and learned Commentators had not seriously inferred from it nothing less than—the resurrection of the body! Job cannot mean, they argue, that he is to be redeemed in the world of spirits; for he is to see his Redeemer with his own eyes; and how can he have eyes unless he has a body? Hath not a spirit eyes, then? or, rather, do we ever conceive of one without? Has not God Himself, the great pure Spirit, eyes? or do not we, and the Hebrew prophets, and the Christian apostles, constantly speak of Him as having larger and keener eyes than ours, *i.e.*, keener and swifter perceptions? How *can* men study a poem so prosaically! How can even these dogmatic Dryasdusts so far forget the inevitable limitations of human language and thought as to make it necessary to remind them that the misuse of so common a figure of speech proves nothing except the blindness of those who misapprehend it!

For that, or, *for this*, my reins pine away within me. *My reins*, or, as we should say, "my heart:" "the reins" being with the Hebrews the seat of passion and yearning affection, as "the heart" is with us. It need hardly be added that what Job's heart pines for is

the coming of that Divine Epiphany which he has been foretelling, that glorious appearing of the great God his Saviour. His very hope was a new element of agitation and disturbance. He was to *see* his Goel; as yet he could only *hope* for his advent. And as hope deferred maketh sick the heart of man, we need not be surprised to find him, even after he has risen to this great height of faith, sinking back again into pining heart-sickness and despair.

The last two Verses of the Chapter, *Verses* 28, 29, are not part of the Inscription, although they complete both the figure and the sense of it. In relation to himself Job had thought of the Goel as a Redeemer; but he now turns on the Friends who "persecuted" him with their unfounded charges and insulting suspicions, and warns them that if they persist in their hostility, He who appears to deliver him will also appear to judge them, and to smite them with the sword of the Avenger.

II. This is the exegesis of this memorable Inscription—an exegesis to which I believe most of our living Hebrew scholars would, on the whole, assent. But now that we have arrived at the meaning of its several parts, we must address ourselves to the still more difficult and weighty task of fixing on that interpretation of the whole passage to which they most clearly point—a task in the course of which we shall be obliged to retread much of the ground we have already traversed.

What *is* the ruling Interpretation of this great passage, then? Put briefly, I would venture to state it thus: *Job is profoundly convinced of a retributive life to come.* He is fully and unalterably persuaded that,

after his death, God will appear to redeem and avenge him ; but *when* God will appear, and *how*, he neither knows nor speculates. *That*, probably, is the most reasonable interpretation to put on the words we have so closely examined, neither going beyond their obvious significance nor falling short of it. But as there are able and learned men who insist on seeing more in them than this, or refuse to see so much, we must, if possible, bring our Interpretation to some clear and decisive test.

It will be admitted, I think, that the fairest and most decisive test open to us is this: Does, or does not, this interpretation fall in with the general current of Job's thoughts and hopes in so far as we have already discovered them ? Is, or is not, this passage, so read, the natural sequence and climax of the convictions and beliefs he has already expressed ? Do, or do not, many of the lines of thought we have already traced in the Poem fairly lead up to it ? In my exegesis of this passage I have already shewn incidently that our Interpretation fairly meets even this severe and conclusive test. I have pointed out that Job's Inscription only carries to a higher power, and conveys in a clearer way, thoughts and convictions to which he had previously given utterance. But, to make the argument complete, I must touch upon some of these points again, and add to them a new series of similar proofs.

I find, then, no less than six lines of thought in the previous Chapters of the Poem which run up into and are harmonized and combined in the passage before us.

1. There is his general conviction that, though for a while, and for purposes which he cannot fathom, God may seem to be his enemy, nevertheless, as he had

done nothing to offend and alienate Him, it was impossible that God could be really alienated from him, impossible that He should not be his Friend. This, as we have seen again and again, was the conviction by which Job was sustained throughout his long and weary controversy with "the men of his counsel," and to which, though he may lose sight of it for a time, he recurs with an added force. He had long since lost confidence in the doctrine he once held, and which the Friends still urge upon him, that, in this life, every man receives his due. *That*, since it is contradicted by the most intimate facts of his own experience, is no longer credible to him. But he has not, therefore, lost confidence in the justice of God : he is simply driven to the persuasion that the Divine Justice is of a larger scope than he had hitherto conceived ; that it covers a wider space and demands longer periods for its full development, periods which stretch beyond the narrow span of mortality. He does not, and he will not, believe that

We shall be winnowed with so rough a wind
That even our corn shall seem as light as chaff,
And good from bad find no partition.

He is sure that they must find partition, so sure that, since the winds of time *are* so rough as to make many a man's corn seem light as chaff, he can only believe that we shall pass beyond the winds of time into some more equal atmosphere, in which the good will be separated from the bad and the corn be gathered into the garner of God. And what, after all, is his Inscription but a still clearer and weightier statement of this abiding conviction of his heart ?

2. This conviction has already taken many forms. Thus, for example, while studying his appeal in Chapter

xvi. 18, "O Earth, cover not my blood!" we saw that, while formally calling on the earth to attest his innocence, it is really God to whom he appeals, and even *to God against God*. It is God who has shed his blood (Chap. xvi. 13), and yet Job is so sure of his justice as to believe that He will avenge the very blood which He has shed. And is there any very great and sudden leap from this conviction that God would not permit his blood to cry to Him in vain, to the conviction that, whenever God appeared to answer that cry, he, Job, should be there to see it? Is not the Inscription, after all, but the natural sequence and climax of the persuasion which found an earlier expression in this pathetic appeal?

3. This same general conviction of the Divine Justice, and of its inevitable manifestation in the life and lot of man, rises to a still bolder utterance in Chapter xvi. 21, where Job demands and entreats nothing less than that God would justify him against God Himself, against the wrongs which He Himself had done him, as well as against the suspicions and misconstructions of his fellows. And with this indomitable persuasion of a Justice in heaven so pure that it would even listen and respond to an appeal against itself, is it any wonder that Job was led on by it to the yet more definite persuasion that, if the response to that appeal were not vouchsafed within the bounds and coasts of time, it would be vouchsafed beyond them? Is not the one a natural and logical inference from the other?

4. Even so early as in his first reply to Bildad (Chap. x. 7), the man of Uz could assert his innocence, and God's knowledge of it, to God's face; he could say, "*Thou knowest I am not guilty*, though Thou hast

searched for my fault and made inquisition for my sin." And in his very next speech (Chap. xiii. 15-19) he repeats this assertion in a more elaborate form:—A sinner would not dare to come before God, whereas he longs for nothing so much; he is sure that he has right on his side; that, if only he could reach the Divine Presence, his innocence would be patent, and need no proof: if he believed that any man could justly allege aught against him, he would die of very shame. In short, as he shews in every word he utters, he is as fully convinced of his own innocence as he is of the justice of God. And if God be just, and man be innocent, must not God justify man,—redress his wrongs, release him from his sufferings, and grant him a clear and happy issue out of all his trials?

5. Another, and yet a similar, line of thought leads to the same conclusion. In Chapter ix. 32-35 Job gives vent to his longing for an Umpire, a Daysman, an Arbiter capable of bringing him and God together in judgment, and of enforcing his decision even on the Almighty. And what this prophetic yearning really implied was, as we saw, a craving for a humanized God, God in a human form; *God*, that He might have power with God; and *man*, that Job may not be overawed by dread of Him. In Chapter xvi. 21 he demands that this Umpire should be both his Judge and his Advocate, both pleading and deciding for him. In Verse 19 of the same Chapter he affirms that this Umpire and Judge is already his Witness; that God is testifying to him in heaven even while he is afflicting him on earth. And in Verse 3 of the next Chapter he begs God to be his Surety, surety with Himself, until the cause shall come on for trial and decision. Now, I

do not see how any one who has observed how many and what auspicious forms God has already taken in the mind of Job can wonder to find Him taking still another and a still more gracious form. It is natural, if not inevitable, that He who has already appeared as Umpire, Judge, Advocate, Witness, Sponsor, should also appear as *Goel*, *i.e.*, as Redeemer and Avenger: for to what end should God judge his cause, to what end should He advocate it, and testify to it, and go bail for him until it was tried, if He were not also to execute the sentence by which his wrongs would be redressed and his adversaries punished and defeated?

6. That Job should anticipate that his Redemption and Vindication would be deferred till he had passed, through the gate and avenue of death, into the dim Hadean Kingdom whose physical conditions were unknown to him, and whose *moral* conditions had hitherto been at the best but dimly seen; that he should therefore acknowledge the date and mode of his trial and acquittal to be hidden from him, while yet he was sure that he should be both acquitted and avenged, is in the most perfect accord with another line of thought along which he has led us again and again. One of the earliest and clearest expressions of it may be found in the prayer of Chapter xiv. 13-15. In that prayer he beseeches God to hide him in Hades, hide him with loving care as something too precious to be lost, until the day of wrath be past; he beseeches Him to fix a term beyond which He would not suffer his faithful servant to be wronged and tormented. If He would but do that, Job would stand, like a sentinel, at his post on earth until he fell at it, and then stand at his post in Hades, however long and hard the term might

be, until it pleased God to discharge and release him. This strain is resumed in Chapter xvii. 11-16, and the hope of a life beyond the grave is yet more elaborately wrought out. He is sure that God *will* appear for him, but *when* he knows not. He no longer anticipates that it will be in this life, for "his breath is spent, his days are extinct;" but he will carry his hope down into the grave with him. Beyond "that bourn," since not before he passes it, God will vindicate him. He will find rest and a home in Hades; and as, to reach that unknown kingdom, he must needs go through the grave, he is already familiarizing himself with it, crying to corruption, "Thou art my father!" "My mother, and my sister!" to the worm. Released by the stroke of death — whose sword ennobles while it smites — from this hindering mortality, he hopes, he believes, he is sure, that in his spirit he shall see God, and find in Him both a Judge and a Friend. And it is simply *this* conception carried to a higher degree of clearness and certainty that lends weight and force to his Inscription. A judgment in Hades, in which the Judge will shew Himself his Friend, in which all the tangled skein of his life will be unravelled by wise and kindly hands, and the insoluble problem of his strange and self-contradicting experience will at last be solved, — *this* is what Job still looks for on that happy day when he shall see God for himself, and find his *Goel* in that Almighty Deliverer. Just as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, through having no inheritance in the promised land, were led to look for a better country, even a heavenly; so Job, by being denied justice in this world, is driven to look for a better and more heavenly world, even that which is to come.

All the main lines of thought which we have already found in this Poem, then, run up easily and naturally into this noble and unique passage. If it rises like a lofty summit from the ordinary level of Job's thoughts, it nevertheless does not stand alone; it is but the crowning summit in a long chain of peaks to which their curves attract and conduct our eyes.

But, despite all these arguments, because they do not see them or because they do not feel their force, there are those who insist on seeing in this passage *more* than it fairly contains. They *will* find in it the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, as well as the assurance of a future retributive life. All that I can allege in favour of their interpretation is that it is graced by ancient authority. The Targum, for example, renders the passage thus: "I know that my Redeemer liveth; and hereafter his redemption will arise (become a reality) over the dust (into which I shall be dissolved): and *after my skin is again made whole* this will happen: and *from my flesh* I shall again behold God." But not to insist on the fact that even the more critical ancient authorities pronounce against this interpretation, and that almost the whole critical school of modern times utterly rejects it, I will only remark that it is a patent anachronism, that it carries a distinctively Christian doctrine back to a period long anterior to that at which, by his resurrection from the dead, Christ brought life and immortality to light; and that a physical, or a metaphysical, speculation such as this would have been in Job is utterly alien to the tone and movement of his thoughts. And I will only ask those who cleave to it in the teeth of evidence to bear in mind that,

by snatching at arguments for Christian doctrine which they themselves must confess to be dubious and opposed to the weight of critical authority, they do but shew their want of faith in it, instead of, as they intend, their faith. A doctrine which can stand on its own proper evidence, as the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead can very certainly do, does not need to be buttressed up by arguments which are widely disputed and condemned. To resort to such arguments is only, in effect, to render it as doubtful as the arguments themselves. Those who *will* adduce them can hardly be so sure of it as they profess to be.

But if there are some who will see more in this passage than it fairly contains, there are others who see *less*. A few learned and devout scholars, whose verdict is entitled to the gravest respect, refuse to admit that Job here asserts his conviction of a life beyond the grave. Their great argument is:—That if Job had once risen to so noble and consolatory a conviction, it is incredible that he should afterwards have sunk into such depths of despair as we find him in; and that therefore they are compelled, however reluctantly, to conclude that he looked for nothing more than a future deliverance within the limits of the present life, on *this* side the grave. Now I trust I have already shewn that Job's faith in a life beyond the grave finds expression, not in this Inscription alone, but in many other sentences of less, but still of great, weight; that, in fact, it pervades the whole Poem. But there are other arguments against what seems to me the wholly inadequate interpretation maintained by the scholars and commentators to whom I have referred, which I beg to

submit to their consideration, and to that of as many as are disposed to agree with them.

1. If Job had no more to tell us than this, why does he introduce his Inscription with such extraordinary pomp? Health after sickness, wealth after ruinous loss, peace after trouble, are not such extraordinary vicissitudes as to demand that they should be inscribed in the State Chronicle or graven on the eternal Rock.

2. It is questionable whether Job *does* afterwards fall into such utter despair as this hypothesis assumes. I suspect we shall find, as we study the subsequent Chapters of this Poem, that, from this point onward, the inevitable reactions from hope to despair constantly grow less forcible and marked.

3. And even if Job does, again and again, sink into despair, how is that to be reconciled with the fact of his being firmly persuaded that, within a few weeks or months, he was to be reinstated in health and wealth, name and fame, any more than with the fact of his being fully convinced that he should be redeemed and justified beyond the grave? The *nearer* hope should surely have been the more consolatory and sustaining.

4. The interpretation is, so far as I can see, alien to the whole tone of Job's mind as disclosed in the Poem. He had now reached a point at which he despaired of life. The foul leprosy which was devouring him limb by limb had already brought him to the borders of the grave; and more fatal even than the pangs of disease must have been the agony of his distracted mind and lacerated heart.

He cannot long hold out these pangs ;
The incessant care and labour of his mind
Hath wrought the mure, that should confine it in,
So thin, that life looks through and will break out.

And why should he care to keep it in? Life had grown loathsome and abhorrent to him, and that for sadder reasons, and reasons of more weight, than even the fatal progress of his foul disease. He had discovered that he could not trust even those whom he loved best, and who had seemed to love him best. Wife, brothers, friends, clan, servants,—all had failed him. So sad and strange, so almost unparalleled, was his doom, that not even one heart seems to have been quite true to him. What, then, had life to offer him, however bright and favourable its conditions? Health to live in a world so overcast, wealth to lavish on those who had abandoned and betrayed him,—were these a boon so great that he should crave to have it inscribed in ineffaceable characters on an imperishable monument?

5. If it is easy for us, sitting placidly in our easy chairs, to determine that great convictions and inspiring hopes, once reached, can never be forgotten, that a man once possessed of them does not so relax his hold of them as to fall back into the despair from which they rescued him, none who have gone through the agonies of loss, public reprobation, bereavement, and the gnawing pangs of a fatal and loathsome disease, will be quite so sure of that. *We* believe, and are persuaded, that God's will concerning us is always a good and perfect will; but when that Will means loss of health to us, or loss of reputation, or loss of wealth—which, oh, shame on our manhood and our faith! we call "ruin"—are we instantly and invariably content with it? *We* believe, and are persuaded, on better and larger grounds than Job, that to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord; but when wife, or

husband, or child is taken from us, does this sacred and assured conviction instantly and always save us from agonies of grief and hopelessness? No man, I think, who has felt the heavier blows of Change and Loss will be much surprised to find that a man of like passions with himself was sometimes untrue even to his most intimate convictions, and felt as though his most solid hopes had melted into thin air.

6. Job's very hope—a point to be much marked—was a new ingredient of agitation and suspense, cast into the seething passion of his breast, as he himself tell us in the words, "*For that my reins pine away within me!*" He knew and was sure that God would appear for him and redeem him; but he did not know when, or how. The cry of his heart was, How long, O Lord, how long! And if it was well for him that he had a sure and certain hope of deliverance, yet who that knows how narrow is the margin between despair and the sickness of hope deferred, will marvel that Job's hope did not at once allay the trouble and agitation of his spirit? His very hope would fill him with a sick, and almost heartbreaking, longing for its fulfilment.¹

S. COX.

¹ As the "Daily Review," in its notice of the January number of THE EXPOSITOR, was so good as to say, "The fact that Prof. Davidson of Edinburgh has carried his Commentary (on Job) no further than the end of the Fourteenth Chapter might have something to do with Mr. Cox's suspension of his work at that point," and to imply that I might never have resumed it had not the learned Professor "generously allowed" me the use of his notes on the Second Colloquy, it may be only right to state that, Professor Davidson being unable to find his notes on Chapter xix., I have been compelled, to my great regret, to dispense with his "valuable help" in my exposition of this Scripture. On the other hand, I have gratefully to acknowledge that, having submitted proof of the foregoing pages to half a dozen of our best Hebraists, and among them Dr. Davidson, he was kind enough, when he returned the proof, to write, "I agree with the whole of it thoroughly," and to add some compliments which it is not for me to repeat. To him, as also to Canon Perowne and Dr. Morison, I owe, and tender, my hearty thanks.

*THE LAWS OF THE KINGDOM AND THE
INVITATION OF THE KING.*

III.—THE INVITATION.—ST. MATTHEW xi. 28—30.

WE have considered the two great Laws of the Kingdom, brief and imperfect as all such consideration must needs be. But Christ our Master is not content with giving laws to his subjects. His revelation does not stop here. He is a King, not only in the majesty of his rule; He is a King also in the greatness of his condescension. He has laws that must be obeyed; but He has also a free and gracious Invitation, and a promise the sweetest that ever fell upon the ear of man. And the Invitation, it is of importance to observe, flows out of, and rests upon, the Laws. The Invitation is addressed, not to man's curiosity, or to man's pride, or to man's intellectual capacity, but to his need, to his sense of misery, to his weariness, to his sin. There we see the principle of the First Law, in the wants of the persons who are addressed. The principle of the Second Law is no less apparent in the character of the Person who speaks, and whose character shines with such surpassing glory in the Invitation, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

Think, first of all for a moment, of the wonderful contrast with the scene and the words just going before. Where shall we find a more striking exhibition of the "severity" and the "goodness" of God? "Then began he to upbraid the cities in which his mighty works were done: Woe unto thee, Chorazin! woe unto thee, Bethsaida! And thou, Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven?"—thou that, in the arro-

gance of thy heart, wouldest set thy seat among the stars—"Nay, thou shalt be thrust down to Hades." With solemn joy He beholds the righteous judgment, the inevitable fulfilment of the righteous law, the sentence of the Father's unerring wisdom: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father: for so it seemed good in thy sight." There is the absolute acquiescence in the Father's will as a perfectly righteous will. But does this imply any arbitrary exclusion from the kingdom? Has God erected any barrier in the way of those who would enter in? Has he pre-ordained any to the outer darkness? Let the largeness of the Invitation answer. "Come unto me, ALL ye that labour and are heavy laden."

And what shall I say of these words? Shall I call them most truly human, or most truly Divine? Certainly they are most truly Divine. Put those words into the mouth of an apostle, and then you will feel what I mean. Let the saintliest, the most loving, the most truly inspired of God's messengers to man address us in words like these: let a Paul or a John say to us, "Come unto me, and I will give you rest;" could we listen to the invitation? Should we not recoil from the human teacher or the human saint who should dare to give us such a promise? Should we not feel instinctively that it must be treacherous on his lips? No thoughtful honest man can have ever read those words, *Venite ad me omnes laborantes*, over the shrine of St. Anthony at Padua, without a painful sense of recoil as from a blasphemous parody. We cannot trust man, we cannot find rest in man. None but God

can say to us, unless in mockery, "Come unto me ; learn of me ; and ye shall find rest unto your souls." If I were asked to point out one passage in the Gospels which should affirm most clearly, which should bring home to the heart most consolingly, the proper Divinity of Christ our Lord, I would choose this ; and I would choose it, not because of the sublime acknowledgment which it contains of the eternal righteousness of the Father, nor because of the sublime witness which it bears to the perfect and intimate union and fellowship between the Father and the Son ; but because of the sublime invitation which falls from the lips of Him who spake as man never spake, saying, "Come unto me." I say, these words are most truly Divine. He who utters them, utters them in the full consciousness that all things are delivered to Him of the Father, and that He makes the revelation to whom He will. I see here the Majesty and the Sovereignty of the Speaker.

But I say also these words are most truly human. The Invitation, so full of Divine power and grace, is full also of human tenderness and pity. How soothing in their matchless sympathy, how precious to the poor struggling fainting human heart, how infinitely above the trivial sentimentality of too much human sympathy is every syllable of that Invitation ! "Come unto me." Why ? Not because I am the Lord of angels and of men ; not because I have all power in heaven and on earth ; not because resistance to me is vain and submission to me is necessary ; but, "Come unto me ; for I am meek and lowly in heart : and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Blessed words, sweet as the dews of heaven, gracious as the droppings of a summer cloud.

For they fall from human lips ; He who bids us bring to Him the burden of our sorrow and the burden of our sin, and gives us his promise of rest, is One who has taken the burden upon Himself, whose nature is our nature, who suffered being tempted, who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, for they are his.

This is the infinite blessedness of this Divine human revelation. It is not only its largeness, "Come unto me, *all* ye that labour and are heavy laden." That Invitation is wide as the world and long as the ages. That Invitation reaches to every phase of human life ; for what phase of life does not confess itself weary and long for rest ? Who is there, if he have left the home of his youth behind him and fairly launched upon the stormy ocean of life, that does not feel the weary tossing of the billows, and turn his wistful eyes to some land of hoped-for rest ? The dull monotony of life, the everlasting, weary, profitless round, the labour leading to nothing, which weighed like lead on the Preacher's heart as he surveyed the world, till he broke forth into the bitter cry, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity," is the lot of man still. The weariness, the dissatisfaction is not less as the world grows older. Never, perhaps, did it weigh so heavily as now. Even those whom we might think freest from trouble, men who have been caressed and flattered by the world, who have been happy in their families and beloved by their friends, cannot repress the cry that goes up from their hearts, Who will give us rest ? "I have reached nearly to the length of my tether," wrote one not long ago ; "I have grown old and apathetic and stupid. All I care for in the way of personal enjoyment is quiet, ease ; to

have nothing to do, nothing to think of. My only glance is backward. There is so little before me, that I had rather not look that way." To *all* such the invitation speaks by its comprehensiveness. But it does more. It might be large, it might be wide, and yet it might not be winning. The accents might be kingly, but they might be cold withal and awful, and men might fear to obey them. But here is the blessedness of Christ's invitation, not only its freedom, its largeness, but the certainty that none can be rejected, none can be misunderstood, none can be dealt harshly with. "Come unto me, *for I am meek and lowly of heart.*" Who shall fear to come to One who thus removes their fear? Why seek for any intercessor with *Him*? Why go to saint, or angel, or Virgin Mother? Why pour the tale of guilt into the ear of human priest, when *He* says, "Come unto me, for I am meek and lowly of heart"? It is this meekness, this lowliness of heart, which speaks with such attractive power. It is this infinite gentleness united with the infinite majesty which has drawn men to Christ. It is this marvellous union of all-embracing and perfect sympathy with Divine power to succour and to save which has made Him in all ages the sovereign of human hearts. To none other can *all* turn, sure each that his own individual grief or burden will be fully shared. How impossible it is for the rich to sympathize with the poor. With the kindest and best intentions, there must always be a gulf between them. How impossible for those in health to minister with always unfailing delicate tact to the weariness and the pain of a sick bed. There are bitter sorrows that no human friend can comfort. There are heartaches to which all human

words seem as mockery. There are cruel wrestlings with doubt ; there is anguish of soul so deep that no human voice can still it ; there is a darkness that may be felt which no earthly light can dispel. There are shame and guilt which flee from the presence of human helpers. And yet it is a human voice, and a human hand, and a human heart, which we need. Who shall help us ? God is a Spirit, awful in his sovereign greatness, and man is like ourselves, hard in judgment and weak to help. But Christ says, "Come unto me." Then it is that, "repulsed on all sides, lonely and helpless, we turn to Him whose mighty heart understands all." Breaking down beneath his burden of poverty, sorrow, pain, bereavement, doubt, anxiety, shame, sin, the man drinks in that Voice and clings to that Hand, crying, "Lord, thou biddest the weary and the heavy laden to come to Thee ; and I am weary, weary with my pain, weary with my grief, weary with my perpetual conflict with unbelief, weary with my fruitless struggles against Thy love, weary with my long wandering from my Father's house. Lord, I come to Thee ; give rest to my soul."

And to that cry comes the blessed answer of peace, "I *will* give rest unto your soul." And that rest Christ does give. His promise is not a deceitful promise. He does not give a stone for bread ; He does not give as the world gives ; He does not mock us with the mirage of happiness, which makes the fever in our veins rage more terribly than before. He does take away the weariness from life. He does fill the heart with his own mighty peace. Yet, be it observed, not without a condition. "Take my yoke upon you ; learn

of me." The phrase is one which would be very intelligible to those to whom it was addressed. "The yoke of the commandments" was a phrase they had doubtless heard from their Rabbinic teachers. There is a passage in the Mishnah (*Berachôth*, ii. 2) which strikingly illustrates our Lord's words here. The two benedictions with which public worship began, morning and evening, were followed immediately by the *Shema'*, as it was called, from its first word in Hebrew (*שמע*), which consisted of three passages of the Law—Deuteronomy vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21; Numbers xv. 37-41. This part of the service is unquestionably of great antiquity, and there can be no doubt that our Lord must often have joined in it. But the point to which I wish to draw attention is the explanation which is given in the Mishnah of the order in which these passages follow one another. Rabbi Joshua ben Qorchah says that the section Deuteronomy vi. 4-9 precedes the section Deuteronomy xi. 13-21, to teach us "that we are to take upon ourselves first the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, and only after that the yoke of the commandments." First: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might," &c.; and then, the keeping of the commandments, the blessings of obedience, the penalty of disobedience, the duty of laying up these words in the heart, of binding them upon the hands, and as frontlets between the eyes, of teaching them to children, of speaking of them at all times, and writing them upon the posts of the doors and the gates. This is surely an interpretation displaying a remarkable spiritual insight, and wonderfully in accordance with the order of our

Lord's Invitation. Here, too, there is first the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, the summons to a personal love and devotion, the gracious Invitation, "Come unto me," the Heart of Love seeking love in return ; and here, too, this is followed by the yoke of the commandments : "Take my yoke upon you, learn of me ; for my yoke is easy and my burden is light." Must not our Lord's words have had a special significance for those whom He addressed, not only because He offered them the light yoke of loving obedience to Him instead of the hard yoke of legal and ritual observances imposed upon them by their Rabbinic masters, but also because His teaching was in accordance with, though it transcended, that with which their own public worship had made them familiar ?

But Christ does impose "a yoke" and "a burden." He is a Master who would have us "learn of him." And if we need humility that we may enter his school, we need patience and meekness and docility if we are to profit by his teaching. It is *not* an easy thing to be a Christian indeed. He does not call us to an indolent, easy, self-pleasing life, in which there are few duties and fewer cares. We must bow our necks to his yoke. And it is "a yoke" to lay a restraint upon our natural inclinations and to mortify self ; it is a yoke to crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts, to watch over our desires, to curb our unruly, peevish, sullen, irritable tempers ; it is a yoke to be calm when we are naturally fretful, to be meek and gentle when we are naturally proud and overbearing, to give up our own will and our own way when we are naturally bent upon having our own will and following our own way. It is a yoke to say to ourselves day by day, "I follow a Master who

bore shame and spitting and the crown of thorns and the cross, and I must bow the head to insult and wrong, and when I am reviled revile not again, but forgive until seventy times seven, and pray for those who hate and injure me."

It is "a burden" to feel the flesh lusting against the spirit, and to know that when we would do good evil is present with us; that no day can pass without a conflict, and that, alas! too often the issue is defeat. It is "a burden" to kneel in prayer, and to be numbed and chilled and weighed down in heart, instead of rising, as on eagles' wings, toward heaven. It is "a burden" to see our efforts baffled, our good evil spoken of, our motives misconstrued, our character maligned. It is "a burden" to think that, after all, we make but little progress, that we ourselves are little nearer to heaven, that others seem little the better for our words or example, that we have not touched and won the hearts of those nearest and dearest to us, much less enlarged the borders of Christ's kingdom on earth.

And yet this "yoke is easy" and this "burden is light." For to have this yoke and this burden is to have the mind of Christ and of God. It is to be on the side of truth and purity and gentleness and goodness and love in the great battle against wrong and wickedness and selfishness in every form, but first and chiefest in ourselves. They who have taken upon them this yoke and this burden have taken upon themselves first "the yoke of the kingdom of heaven." They have entered into it by the lowly gates of humility and self-renunciation. They have accepted the revelation of the Eternal Father in Christ, they acknowledge Him as their only Teacher. "Lord, to whom shall we go?"

thou hast the words of eternal life." They love Him with supreme unhesitating love; they sit at his feet with Mary, they watch his eye, they follow his hand. Love is their inspiration, and love makes all things easy and every burden light.

The heavy burden, the galling yoke, is the burden and the yoke of sin, of sin ruling, sin enslaving, sin obeyed in the lusts thereof; not of sin hated, mourned over, prayed against, fought against, vanquished by the grace that is in Christ. The yoke which is *not* easy is the yoke of passions holding the mastery and mocking us when we do their bidding. The burden which is *not* light is the burden of an accusing conscience, of a wasted life, of the fear of death, of the terrors of judgment to come. There is none to lighten that burden, there is no hope, no joy, no victory there. The slavery grows ever more hopeless: it is the antepast of hell.

But the message of the King is to *all*. "Come unto me all ye that labour" fringes with its glorious light the dark cloud, "Thou hast hidden." It seems to carry with it infinite possibilities of hope. The mighty works were done in vain, and the pride of Capernaum hid from its eyes the things that belonged to its peace, and Jewish doctors and Pharisees laid hard burdens and grievous to be borne on men's shoulders; and all this history has been repeated in the Christian Church. But the message has been repeated too. And as then it touched the heart of her¹ who, standing by, listened to it, and came and washed his feet with her tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head as He sat at meat in Simon's house, so it has found an echo ever

¹ The narrative in Luke vii. 36-50 seems, in all probability, to have followed the discourse here.

since in all weary heavy-laden hearts. It will sound on through all the ages, till all, through many ways, by various discipline, have found their burden intolerable, have confessed their weariness, have taken at last his yoke, have found rest and peace in Him.

J. J. STEWART PEROWNE.

*SHORT PAPERS UPON THE PROPHET
JEREMIAH.*

NO. 2.—THE OPENING VISIONS.

THE visions vouchsafed to Jeremiah are destitute of the sublimity and the awful magnificence of those by which Isaiah and Ezekiel were called to the prophetic office, but they are full of meaning. And it is remarkable that while those glorious visions seemed to foreshew a career of splendour and power for those to whom they were granted, the simple allegories which unfolded themselves to Jeremiah's view were discouraging. They spoke of difficulty chiefly, and shewed that it was a hard work, and one well nigh hopeless, to which he was summoned. Perhaps that was what Jeremiah needed. There are some natures to which danger and difficulty bring strength. Mid the soft breezes of the south they are listless and indifferent, but when the keen east wind blows they are braced for exertion, and will do battle with the fierce storm. And so it was difficulty, hardship, ill-success, that were set before Jeremiah's eyes.

The first vision was merely a rod, *i.e.*, a branch of an almond tree. Now the almond tree is as full of meaning to the people of Judæa as the snowdrop is to

us. Like the peach tree in our shrubberies — and the almond belongs to the same family of trees — it puts forth its pale pink blossoms before the leaves open ; and Dr. Tristram, in his “Natural History of the Bible,” says that he gathered it in Bethany in full bloom in January. The leaves follow almost immediately upon the blossoms, and thus, while other trees are still wrapt in the torpor of winter, it gives the first sign of the approach of spring. It has two names in the Bible, the more common one being *Luz*, the old name for Bethel, *the almond city*, but called by Jacob *the house of God*, after he had seen there his dream of the ladder mounting up to heaven. The other name of the almond tree is that used here by Jeremiah, *shâkêd*. In our version it is taken to mean *make haste*. Jehovah asks, “What seest thou ?” Jeremiah answers, “A branch of a Shâkêd tree.” And the Lord said, “Thou hast well seen : for I am *hastening* my word to perform it,” the Hebrew for hastening being *shôkêd*. This gives a very good sense. The almond is the tree *in haste*, which cannot wait, but hurries into flower before the spring has come. But more literally the verb means *to be awake*, and so the almond is the tree awake, while other trees sleep.

And this probably is the true meaning. God was awake, and up for judgment. Long time He seems to be inactive. His purposes mature slowly. For this world is a state of probation and trial ; and were God ever to be immediate in his dealings with us, were punishments ever to follow quick upon sins, and rewards to be bestowed at once upon the righteous, probation would be of little account. It is the difficulty of our probation here which gives it its value. But at

length God seems to arouse Himself from this quiescent state, and events march on with startling rapidity.

So with the Jewish nation. During the fifty-five years of Manasseh's reign God had seemed to remain inactive. He permitted that king to reverse all his father's acts, and then He chastised him, and brought him to repentance. But after that the land had a long rest. Those many years were its allotted period of probation, and so we always find the reign of Manasseh spoken of as the time when Judah finally apostatized from God: for its conduct then made it a moral impossibility that it should heartily accept Josiah's reforms. Yet was the attempt made: for it was not an actual impossibility, and with God mercy is ever triumphing over justice. And so that simple almond branch told of a more eventful time coming. Judah had had its calm quiet period of probation. One more attempt to rescue it must be made under sharper and sterner circumstances. If Judah would be saved, it must rouse itself at once to repentance; for God's justice was awake, and the results of past actions would now quickly shew themselves.

But was there not also a more comforting lesson? God wakes to reward his people as well as to punish the impenitent. And again, He wakes to perform his word, *i.e.*, to carry on his purpose of saving man. The reign of Josiah and the ministry of Jeremiah were indispensable for the salvation of the Jewish Church. Without the work of these two men, the return from the Babylonian exile would, humanly speaking, have been impossible. The almond branch therefore spake of a watchful Providence ever ordering and controlling and directing to its appointed end the tangled maze of

cross purposes and conflicting aims which form the outward garb of human history. And Jeremiah was unfit to be a prophet till he had learnt the lesson of belief in a watchful Providence ; and he learned it by the sight of a plant. And if the name of the plant spake of watchfulness, its blossom spake of *trust*. The almond tree putting forth its tender and delicate flowers in January, our own snowdrop lifting up its pale head mid the rigours of winter, both tell the same tale. They trust in the God of nature, trust that He is about to send warm and genial weather to mature their seeds ; and in April the ripe almonds may be gathered in the valley of the Jordan. And so Jeremiah must trust in a higher power that slumbereth not ; and amid all the grief and trouble that were about to fall upon Judæa, that power would ever watch over the Church, and would order all things for the general good of man.

Jeremiah's second vision was of a more special character. God next shewed him a seething pot, *i.e.*, a caldron boiling furiously, and rapidly settling down upon the heap of blazing fuel burning beneath it, and certain soon to overturn, and pour its scalding contents upon all around.

This boiling pot was Assyria, whose history explains the full significance of the vision. From the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, when the army of Sennacherib was destroyed by a pestilential blast, up to the end of Josiah's reign, Judæa, with one slight exception, had remained unmolested by the Assyrians. That exception had been when Esar-haddon, the son of Sennacherib, on his way to invade Egypt, had captured Jerusalem, and taken Manasseh prisoner. But Manasseh made his submission, and became Esar-haddon's vassal ; and

during the remainder of his long reign, and the reigns of his son Amon and his grandson Josiah, the armies of Nineveh appeared no more in the land, and the people grew in numbers, and increased in wealth and power.

Now by the mysterious providence of God the histories of Nineveh and Babylon have been preserved to our days, buried deep beneath those vast mounds which cover the sites of the great cities which once stood upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. Excavations have been made there, and the palaces of Sennacherib and Esar-haddon and Sargon and of other monarchs have been laid open, and their libraries found, full of historical memorials written in a very beautiful character, formed by the arrangement of arrow-heads in various shapes. Now if their books had been written like ours, on paper, or even like those of the Greeks and Romans, on skins, they would have perished; for they have lain beneath the ground for two thousand years. But the Assyrians either carved their records in stone, or stamped them on clay and burned them. The former was the primitive method of writing. "Oh," says Job, "that my words were graven with an iron pen (*i.e.*, a chisel), and filled up with lead, that they might last for ever" (Chap. xix. 24). So the ten commandments were inscribed on tables of stone, while for less permanent memorials plaster sufficed (Deut. xxvii. 4; Joshua viii. 32). The printing, however, of inscriptions on cylinders of clay, and then burning them, to make them imperishable, was peculiar to the Assyrians, and they carried it on to so great an extent that thousands of these clay books are laid up in the British Museum, and in the libraries of other European

states, and everywhere learned men have set themselves to decipher the contents.

At first this was no easy task, for the very letters were unknown; but they were at length made out by the help of an inscription carved upon a rock in Behistun, which it was happily conjectured might be one of those put up by Darius in various parts of his dominions, and of which the contents were pretty well known. As it consisted chiefly of a catalogue of the names of the countries over which Darius ruled, most of the letters of the alphabet were settled by its aid, and by slow degrees the knowledge of the language has grown, until now in London there are classes for studying the old Assyrian or Accadian tongue. A dictionary has been published, grammars are in progress, and the translation of these old writings is a matter, with occasional difficulties, as trustworthy as of inscriptions in Greek.

It is with no common interest that Biblical students watch the deciphering of these books of burnt clay, for they give us an accurate knowledge of nations whose history was interwoven with that of the Jews. As the Bible is the oldest book in the world, so too do these printed bricks carry us back to very ancient times. A most curious Babylonian tradition, embodying a legend of the Flood, was deciphered and published by the late Mr. G. Smith, a gentleman whose loss is most severely felt by all who take an interest in Assyrian literature. But the most valuable portion of their contents is the contemporaneous history they give us of kings like Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, of whom before we knew little except what is contained in the Bible. Now we have long records of them, presenting

their acts and characters to us from an Assyrian point of view. So full often are these narratives, that the history, for instance, of Merodach-baladan, whose name is mentioned in Isaiah xxxix. as having sent an embassy to King Hezekiah, occupies no less than fifty pages of moderately close type in Lenormant's "*Premières Civilizations*," published at Paris in 1874.

Now in these records we find that Nineveh and Babylon were rivals, and that while Babylon was the older and nobler of the two cities, yet that Nineveh long oppressed it, and held it in subjection. And what gave Judæa so long a respite after the destruction of Sennacherib's army was the growing turbulence of Babylon. First Merodach-baladan, and after his death his sons, in alliance with the kings of Elam, were in constant revolt against Nineveh. To keep Babylon in subjection, Esar-haddon was compelled to take up his residence there, and though a determined and warlike king, his unruly subjects gave him so much trouble at home that his neighbours had peace. At his death his son, Assur-bani-pal, went back to Nineveh, and though he made many great wars, yet he could not prevent the upgrowth near him of the new empire of the Medes, destined in course of time to swallow up both Nineveh and Babylon. And so now we can see the full significance of that boiling caldron of perpetual war. For in Mesopotamia there was a fierce struggle. Constant revolts of Babylon, constant battles with Elam, a never-ending contest with the Medes, kept the kings of Nineveh too busy for them to make expeditions against Judæa. After all, its importance politically consisted in its being on the route to Egypt; and after Esar-haddon's breaking up of that country

into little states, it too became quiet enough, and lay outside the circle of Assyrian interests. But on the Tigris the strife daily grew more intense, till at last, just towards the end of Josiah's reign, Nineveh fell. Some years before, Babylon had won for itself independence under the rule of one of its nobles, Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar. But independence was not enough. The hate engendered by long years of subjection could be satiated only by Nineveh's ruin; and so, making an alliance with the Medes, Nabopolassar captured the rival city in the very way described by Nahum. That prophet had foretold that "with an overflowing flood Jehovah would make an end of it" (Chap. i. 8), and that "the gates of the rivers should be opened, and the palace be dissolved" (Chap. ii. 6). Now Nineveh was situated at a point where two other rivers pour their waters into the Tigris. During the siege a great flood happened, which burst open the defences erected to prevent an enemy entering the city by boats, and which Nahum calls "the gates of the rivers." It also undermined the wall of the royal palace upon the river's bank, built, as was the custom, of bricks dried only in the sun, and which when long soaked in water lost all their consistency. And so the Medes and Babylonians entered and captured the city, which otherwise might for many years have withstood their arms.

It was this decline of the power of Nineveh which led to the expedition of Pharaoh-nechoh, in opposing whom Josiah lost his life. Esar-haddon had divided Egypt into twelve little states, which spent their strength in making war upon one another. But when, by the aid of Greek mercenaries, Psammetichus had

welded them once again together, Egypt returned to its old ambition, and the time seemed favourable for that struggle with Assyria which was, they hoped, to give to the inhabitants of the Nile valley the empire of the world. Pharaoh-nechoh, no doubt, knew of the siege of Nineveh, and expected that the great Mesopotamian powers would there exhaust their strength, and leave him an easy victor. He collected, therefore, a large fleet, and landing his troops in the bay of Acre, commenced the conquest of the regions which lay on the western side of the Euphrates. For some reason or other, after the defeat of Josiah he returned to Egypt, possibly to recruit his army after the battle of Megiddo. Meanwhile Nineveh fell, and Nebuchadnezzar began to display that extraordinary military skill which raised Babylon to such vast power, but a power as transient as it was overwhelming. With Nebuchadnezzar it rose: its decline followed at once upon his death. But now he was in the first flush of success, and when Nechoh renewed the attempt four years afterwards, he was utterly defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, and yielded to the Chaldees the empire of the East.

Such, then, was the period described in the vision as the seething caldron. In the plains of Mesopotamia four great powers were struggling for empire—the Medes, the Elamites, the Assyrians of Nineveh, and the Chaldæans of Babylon. And this caldron, as the words are rightly translated in the margin, had its face turned away from the north, and looked towards the south, *i. e.*, towards Judæa. It was settling down: the fierce elements which caused so great an uproar were being consumed, but unevenly. Victory was inclining to the Chaldæan side, and if it prevailed, the raging forces

whose violence had been confined to Mesopotamia would quickly be poured over Judæa, like the scalding contents of an overturned furnace.

And such was the result. Babylon first destroyed Nineveh, and that so completely, that that great city, peopled by half a million inhabitants, absolutely ceased to exist. Never, elsewhere, was so vast a town brought to such utter ruin. And Nebuchadnezzar treated Judæa in a similar way. For seventy years it lay in entire desolation. He brought no settlers from elsewhere to fill the place of those whom he had swept away, as the Assyrians had planted colonies in Samaria. He left a void and empty region, and the land kept her Sabbaths, which the unrighteous people had neglected to observe.

Such was the outlook into the future when Jeremiah was called to the prophetic office. The justice of God was awake for chastisement, and the kingdoms of the north were about to set their thrones solemnly round about Jerusalem, to try her cause and punish her guilt. And now, therefore, we can see the significance of the words spoken to the prophet. He was to be made "a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls." These things are valueless except in a bitter war carried on remorselessly to the very end. God makes nothing in vain, and this iron strength was given to the prophet because he would need it all. It was no pleasant prospect to be made thus a besieged city, needing ramparts of iron and brass, to protect it from the violence of the onslaught. Yet Jeremiah hesitated not. He would be this one strong fortress, to make the last resistance in Jehovah's cause to the powers of sin.

We shall hereafter see how Jeremiah discharged the

office intrusted to him, but I repeat that it was not one to be envied, and that in spite of the young king's earnestness, and the apparent success of his reforms, these visions pointed to a darker side, and spoke chiefly or entirely of chastisement and endurance.

R. PAYNE SMITH.

DID CHRIST SPEAK GREEK?—A REJOINDER.

I AM sorry that Dr. Roberts should think the difference between us greater than I had supposed it to be. It is true that I wished to make as little of it as I could. At the same time I thought the reader would see precisely in what respect the difference seemed capable of being minimized, viz., so far as it related to the purely critical and historical question to what extent and in what proportion Greek and Aramaic respectively were spoken in Palestine at the time of our Lord.

I purposely excluded other considerations, from the fear that they might prevent the question from being decided upon its own merits, and excite a prejudice which it ought to be our object rather to allay. The question is one of fact and evidence, not of feeling; and if feeling is introduced, it is only too apt to make "the wish father to the thought."

And yet even here I think Dr. Roberts is inclined to overstate his case. Even supposing that the discourses in the Gospels were all originally delivered in Greek, there would still be the most serious difficulties in the way of supposing that we had received an exact transcript of them. But even if we could put these difficulties on one side, it might still be asked whether to insist upon such syllabic exactness was not

to attach too much importance to the "letter." It is one of the singular excellences of the Gospels that they lose so little by translation. Many most devout and learned men have lived and died quite content with the belief that they were reading a Greek version of words spoken in Aramaic. Nor is the beauty of our own Version destroyed—it is hardly even diminished—by the knowledge that it is not the original. There is more than one passage—such as, "Consider the lilies, how they grow," and parts of 1 Corinthians xiii. and xv. — where the English seems even to surpass the Greek. And if the theory which I have upheld be true, there is nothing irreverent in allowing ourselves to think so.

I am obliged to confess that both Dr. Roberts's original articles and his reply do not make upon me the impression of a strictly impartial and unprejudiced judgment. Perhaps it was not to be expected that one who has made a particular subject his specialty for years should sit down to consider quite calmly the arguments brought against his own view of it. In such a state of mind any sort of weapon seems good enough that first comes to hand. The main point appears to be that it should deal a ponderous and resounding blow. The real justice and validity of the argument is little considered. A very slender argument goes a long way when it makes for his thesis. A considerable argument is thrust aside, or met by some irrelevant appeal, when it tells against it. And the deficiencies of the argument are made up by peremptory challenges and rhetorical declamation. A hasty reader might easily be misled by these. Confident and emphatic statement, however insecure the foundation on which it rests, is

apt to carry with it conviction. Few have the time and patience really to test an argument when it is put before them. And yet, in order to get at the truth, some trouble, I am afraid, will be necessary. I shall be obliged to ask those who take sufficient interest in the question to follow carefully the whole course of it, to place statement and answer side by side, rigorously to sift out all irrelevant matter, and to take the arguments on either side strictly for what they are worth.

I propose to take Dr. Roberts's points one by one, not knowingly omitting any, though some are really of very slight importance, and then briefly to review the position of the question. As Dr. Roberts, I believe, followed the order of my paper, I shall follow the order of his. At the end perhaps it may be possible to arrange the different items of the evidence a little more according to the weight that ought to attach to them.

1. The first point that Dr. Roberts mentions is one that has a quite insignificant bearing upon the main issue. I observe in a note that Dr. Roberts is too ready to infer from the use of the words, *Ἑλλην*, *Ἑλληνίς*, that any other language than Greek is excluded. He calls this a "pretty strong assertion," and adds, "that people styled 'Greeks,' and that cities styled 'Greek cities,' made use of the Greek language, is surely the dictate of common sense." This is just the kind of argument to draw down cheers from the gallery, but I did not expect it from a scholar like Dr. Roberts. Indeed, I think I can safely leave him to answer himself; for in the sentence immediately preceding that in which he speaks of the "pretty strong assertion," he states that, "as every one knows, Greek and Gentile are in the New Testament convertible

terms." "Greek" is in fact often simply equivalent to Gentile, or non-Jewish. It cannot, therefore, be concluded with certainty that the term necessarily implies the use of the Greek language.¹ The probability is that many of the inhabitants of the cities described by Josephus as Greek were Syrians, who spoke Aramaic themselves, and would not have to "learn" it at all.

2. I maintain, then, that there is no sufficient proof that the people from Decapolis who were present among the audience of the Sermon on the Mount understood no language but Greek. It makes very little difference if they did understand no other, but even as to this preliminary step no unambiguous evidence is forthcoming. Dr. Roberts is very confident as to this portion of his argument. He speaks of the "linguistic conditions of the cities of Decapolis as really decisive as to the language of the Sermon on the Mount, and therefore decisive as to the whole question at issue." But this is evidently running on very fast. Dr. Roberts himself will hardly deny that if the Decapolitans understood only Greek, some of the Galilean villagers understood only Aramaic. But if so, as I asked in my first paper, why should these be

¹ Dr. Roberts hardly seems to be aware when the *onus probandi* is on his side and when it is on mine. For instance, he accuses me of "begging the question" on the point before us. But I was not endeavouring to shew (what, indeed, it was not incumbent on me to shew) that all the inhabitants of Decapolis actually spoke Aramaic. All I said was that the arguments adduced by Dr. Roberts do not suffice to prove that they spoke nothing but Greek. When I maintain a conclusion myself, I shall be quite prepared to prove it positively. In regard to the arguments put forward by Dr. Roberts, it is enough for me to disprove them negatively; *i.e.*, to shew that the premises do not bear out the conclusion. If I can shew on other grounds that the Jews of Palestine spoke in the main Aramaic, it is for Dr. Roberts to shew that the particular inhabitants of Decapolis who were present at the Sermon on the Mount *cannot* have understood that language. The mere statement of the case within its proper logical form is enough to shew how very insufficient Dr. Roberts's reasoning is.

sacrificed to the Decapolitans, any more than the Decapolitans sacrificed to them? Really the premises are quite insufficient to bear out the conclusion. It would be just as easy to argue that the proceedings of an Eisteddfod must be conducted in English, because Englishmen were to be found amongst the audience.

3. The same remarks apply to the argument from the presence at the same Sermon of a contingent (we are not told how large) from Tyre and Sidon. Here again Dr. Roberts insists, with equal confidence and vigour, first, that the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon spoke no other language but Greek; and then, as a necessary consequence, that the whole discourse must have been delivered in the Greek language. Neither point can in the least be made good. The inhabitants of Phœnicia doubtless spoke Greek to some extent, but there is no proof that they spoke no other language as well. The old Phœnician language, which was a dialect nearly akin to Hebrew, "with large elements of Chaldee" (*Deutsch*), *i. e.*, Aramaic, did not become extinct until the third century A.D.¹ Besides, a narrow strip of territory like Phœnicia, with a people much engaged in commercial pursuits, would be sure to be penetrated by the language of its neighbours, whatever that language was. But even were it clear that the particular Phœnicians who joined the crowd that gathered round our Lord spoke nothing but Greek, still many possibilities would intervene before we came to the inference that the Sermon on the Mount itself was delivered in no other tongue.

4. I am next charged with the "sweeping assertion" that the "mass of the nation hated all that was Greek."

¹ Kneucker, in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, iv. 579.

I had hoped that I had guarded myself sufficiently against sweeping assertions. I fully admitted, not only that Greek was used in Palestine, but that it was largely used. I tried to define amongst what classes this was the case, and to what causes it was due. I was therefore prepared for statements which went to shew a considerable prevalence of Greek; but inasmuch as the great rebellion against the Romans was practically a rising against Hellenism in all its forms, I thought myself justified in saying that the "mass of the nation was hostile to everything Hellenic."

Dr. Roberts admits this in regard to the Greek religion or philosophy: he denies it in regard to the Greek language. But no such distinction can really be drawn. There is direct evidence to the contrary. I quoted an emphatic statement to this effect from Rabbi Akibha. Dr. Roberts himself says that "the study and employment of the Greek language were formally prohibited during the course of the wars conducted by Vespasian and Titus." What could more entirely bear out my statement? For the war against Vespasian and Titus was only the furious outbreak of passions that had long been gathering. And yet in the very next sentence after making this admission, Dr. Roberts reads me a schoolboy's lesson on the *Fallacia a dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter*. I can assure him that it was not needed. Besides the evidence above given, there are the express statements of Josephus in a passage to which we shall have to return presently, and also of Origen, οὐ πάνυ μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαῖοι τὰ Ἑλλήνων φιλολογοῦσι. "The Jews are not at all given to the study of Greek."¹

¹ *Contra Celsum*, ii. 34. Dr. Roberts is welcome to amend the translation as he pleases. It is not easy to give the exact force of φιλολογοῦσι and at the same time to leave τὰ Ἑλλήνων as open as it is in the original.

5. Ewald, it is true, speaks of "an irruption of Greek culture and art," and again of "an intrusion of the Greek element by no means limited to Alexandria or other Greek cities, but that spread also speedily and powerfully to Jerusalem, and especially to Samaria." This is exactly for what I contend. A very considerable "irruption" or "intrusion" I not only admitted, but described. But the very words signify that it was not so universal as Dr. Roberts would have us believe. We speak of an "irruption" or "intrusion" of that which *partially* displaces something else, but not of its *complete* displacement. In like manner we might speak of an "irruption" or "intrusion" of French at the Norman conquest, but that did not make French the language of England. Dr. Roberts cannot claim the authority of Ewald for his main proposition, that our Lord spoke Greek. But if so, an isolated sentence should not be quoted in support of a conclusion that its author was very far from holding.

6. What was said in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews I have no hesitation in repeating. Dr. Roberts has added nothing to his previous argument, and hardly seems to be aware of its logical weakness. In order for it to hold good, it would be necessary, first, that it should be certain or in a high degree probable that the Epistle was written to Palestinian Jews; and, secondly, that it should follow from this that it would not have been written in Greek unless Greek had been the dominant language in Palestine. The two propositions depend upon each other, so that any uncertainty in the first doubly tends to weaken the second. But really both propositions are most uncertain. The ordinary reader naturally supposes that the

title "to the Hebrews" must mean to the Jews of Palestine. The instructed reader knows far differently. Without going into the argument as to the address of the Epistle, a brief and simple proof that no stress can be laid on it for Dr. Roberts's purpose is to be seen in the list of critics who assign to it another destination than Judæa. The following suppose that it was intended for the Jews of Alexandria: Schmidt, Ullmann, Schleiermacher, Schneckenburger, Köstlin, Credner, Ritschl, Reuss, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, Bunsen, and Wieseler, who has argued the point in much detail. Nicolas de Lyra held that it was addressed to Spain; Bengel, Schmid, and Cramer, to Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Asia; Wall and Wolf to Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece; Semler and Nösselt to Thessalonica; Storr and Mynster to Galatia; Baumgarten-Crusius and Röth to Ephesus; Stein to Laodicea; Böhme to Antioch; Michael Weber, Mack, and Tobler, to Corinth; Credner (at an earlier date) to Lycaonia; Ewald to Italy; Wetstein, Alford, and recently Holtzmann, to Rome. Such discordance of opinion is proof enough in itself that the address of the Epistle to the Jews of Jerusalem cannot be taken for granted. Nor, if it could, as I think I have shewn, would it really prove anything in favour of the thesis Dr. Roberts is maintaining. The author of the Epistle may just as well have written to the Jews in Greek, though their "proper tongue" (Acts i. 19) was Aramaic, as the Apostle Paul write in Greek to the Church at Rome.

7. I have no wish to deny that St. Peter occasionally, and perhaps even frequently, spoke Greek, though the narrative of the betrayal seems to prove

that his native and natural dialect was the Galilean Aramaic. My chief object in pointing to his connection with St. Mark was to shew how many possibilities intervene between the premises and conclusion of Dr. Roberts. Nor is the suggestion that St. Mark (or some one else) may have had a share in the composition of his Epistle a hypothesis so "totally gratuitous" as Dr. Roberts seems to suppose. I stated my reasons for making it, and I do not think that Dr. Roberts should have applied to it such an epithet without attempting to answer those reasons. They were, first, the frequency of the practice of using amanuenses; and, secondly, the express statement of Papias, Irenæus, and Tertullian, that St. Mark acted as the interpreter of St. Peter. I may add to this the apparent necessity of some such assumption if both the Epistles attributed to St. Peter are to be considered genuine. Nor is it any argument at all against this that in the Epistle to the Romans the amanuensis, Tertius, sends a greeting to the Church in his own name. The First Epistle to the Corinthians, Galatians, and the Second to Thessalonians, were certainly written by amanuenses, and yet in none of these is there any distinct greeting. But the point has really the very slightest bearing on the subject before us. I should not have mentioned it if Dr. Roberts had not done so.

8. It is otherwise with the next paragraph of Dr. Roberts's reply. Here we are taken up to what is really the main question at issue. Nor have I so much to object to in the first half at least of Dr. Roberts's statement. It only illustrates what I said, that the difference between us as to the extent to which Greek and Aramaic were spoken in Palestine is not really so very great.

Dr. Roberts admits that Aramaic was the vernacular tongue. He says: "Aramaic might still be said, though with difficulty, and amid many exceptions, to maintain its position as the mother tongue of the inhabitants of the country." I should only be inclined to strike out here the words "with difficulty." Considering that forty years later every inhabitant of Palestine was, by Dr. Roberts's own shewing, expected to speak it, and that the rival language Greek was entirely prohibited, I do not think we can say that it maintained itself "with difficulty." The encroachments of Greek upon it did not amount to so much as this. At the same time I am quite ready to allow that there were "many" —or at least not a few—exceptions.

The strangest thing appears to be that Dr. Roberts should think it possible to make this admission and yet to maintain that our Lord habitually spoke Greek. We know that He addressed his teaching especially to the poor. Our own version tells us that "the common people heard him gladly;" and though this is a paraphrase rather than a translation of *ὁ πολλὸς ὄχλος*, "the great multitude," it does not really misrepresent its meaning. Dr. Roberts, I suppose, would not question this. But if so, it is to me quite incredible—and I ask if it is not to every one else — that our Lord should have preached the gospel to the people in any other language than their own vernacular. If He had done so, can we believe that it would have had the effect it had? Let us transfer ourselves to modern times. Suppose some great evangelist were to arise in Wales: is it not absolutely certain that he would preach in Welsh? Dr. Roberts quoted the case of the Scotch Highlands. He says: "Celtic may be said to be the vernacular

tongue of many Scottish Highlanders, who yet scarcely ever hear it on public occasions. Gaelic may be said to be their mother-tongue, but the language which they read in books, and what they listen to in public, is English." I do not know how this may be. Dr. Roberts ought to be a better authority on the subject than I am. Yet my own experience has not been quite what he describes. I once spent a Sunday at Balma-carra, opposite the coast of Skye. We went to the nearest Scottish kirk, and I distinctly remember that though there was a service in English it was preceded by one in Gaelic, and, as we might naturally expect, the Gaelic service was evidently the more popular. One is more familiar with the condition of things in Wales, and I put it with confidence to my readers whether a preacher who sought to obtain a real hold upon the people could possibly address them in anything but Welsh? Has not this been notoriously the cause of the want of success of the clergy of the Established Church? English is, it is true, the language of notice-boards, of the hustings, the language even of books, but it fails to touch the finer chords of religious feeling.

9. Dr. Roberts proceeds in a somewhat peremptory manner to demand some reason for the occurrence of Aramaic expressions in the Gospels. It is superfluous to give him this, because even he cannot maintain, after what has been said in the last paragraph, that the few fragmentary phrases embedded in the Gospels are all that our Lord really spoke in Aramaic; and if that is the case it is as much for him to say why there are so few as for me to say why there are no more. It is always a precarious matter assigning motives to persons far removed from ourselves in time and circum-

stance, but I suppose the reasons would be somewhat similar to those which might lead to the insertion of a few French phrases here and there in an English story the scene of which was laid in France. (a) Some of the phrases, like *Ephphatha*, *Talitha cumi*, are single short emphatic sayings, which produced an instantaneous miraculous effect, and they are therefore retained for the sake of graphic realistic presentation. It is to be observed that both these phrases occur in the graphic Evangelist, St. Mark. (b) Words like *Rabboni* (in Mark x. 51, John xx. 16, which is insisted upon by Dr. Roberts) are introduced for the sake of the touch of reverential and tender regard which was not conveyed by the cold *διδάσκαλε* of the Greek. The word is not translated, and the Evangelist says (in effect) that he does not translate it because it is untranslatable.

10. I do not care to lay very much stress on the next point, the statement that *Acceldama* in Acts i. 19 belongs to the "proper tongue" of Jerusalem, though Dr. Roberts's treatment of it is entirely beside the mark. The argument from authority is out of place where as many or more authorities can be quoted on the other side. Besides, it is hardly ingenuous to leave it to be inferred that I am going against authority when the "majority" of commentators are really on my side. I do not rest my case on authority, but I used certain definite arguments to which Dr. Roberts has given no answer. The main point, however, I suppose I may take for granted, that the "proper dialect" of Jerusalem was Aramaic. At the same time I admit that the passage is not decisive, because it tells us nothing about the proportions in which the two languages were spoken.

U. O. P.

11. I postpone for a moment what I have to say on the subject of Talmud and Targum, and come to Josephus. Dr. Roberts thinks it unfair in me to attach so much weight as I do to this writer, "since we have in the New Testament itself no fewer than eight different authors of the period, who ought all to have a voice in determining the matter." I need hardly say that I was not measuring the evidence by quantity. My only reason for attaching importance to Josephus was that his evidence is direct and definite, while that which is gathered by inference from the New Testament is not. The point of the *relative* extent of Greek and Aramaic is a nice one, and more difficult to prove with any precision than Dr. Roberts seems to think. My belief is not in the least degree shaken that Josephus affords the best, and indeed conclusive, evidence upon the subject.

Dr. Roberts quotes as a set-off against the two passages adduced by me, a third, which I venture to think tells so far as it goes in the same direction. Josephus tells us that he wrote his History of the Jewish War originally in "his native tongue," and afterwards translated it into Greek. The Aramaic version he sent to the "barbarians of the interior," *i.e.*, probably in the first instance to the Jews of Babylonia and the East. The Greek version, he says, was destined for "those who lived under the government of the Romans." There is nothing to shew that he meant by this the remnant that still remained in devastated Judæa. The last persons who would need the history would be those who had been the foremost actors in it. He meant rather the whole body of Hellenistic Jews, of whom there were a million in

Alexandria alone. Besides these, he had in view, as he himself says,¹ the Roman court and the educated Roman world generally. No argument at all can be drawn from the address of the work; but, on the other hand, there is some slight weight in the expression which Josephus uses to describe the Aramaic in which he wrote. He calls it distinctly "his native tongue" (πάτριος γλῶσσα), and though I do not suppose that Dr. Roberts would question the epithet, it falls in well with the description in the next passage that I am going to touch upon.

It is quite true that I laid stress on the concluding chapter of the "Antiquities." I thought it, and I think it still, the clearest piece of evidence that can be produced. Dr. Roberts seeks to turn the edge of it by confronting with the conclusions which I draw from it two statements by Grinfield and by Renan. I infer that "a knowledge of Greek was common enough among the middle and lower classes." Grinfield would confine it "chiefly to the upper orders," and Renan uses similar language. I was simply paraphrasing the language of Josephus: διὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τοῦτο οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρων τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς θέλουσι. It is for the reader to say whether the paraphrase is a just one. But in any case the fact that Grinfield and Renan seem to have overlooked this passage, does not affect my argument in the least. To reconcile their statements with the language of Josephus is their concern. But to introduce such conflicting statements in an answer to me is something more than irrelevant: it is an *argumentum ad invidiam*, which ought to be excluded from a controversy conducted on the terms that I hope this is.

¹ *Vita*, § 65.

The point of what I allege is that Josephus speaks of Greek throughout as a foreign and "intrusive" tongue, which might be easily acquired, and was acquired to a considerable extent among the classes that I named; but nothing can be more opposed to his views than the supposition that it was habitually in use, as superseding the language of the country. Such a supposition is, as I said, "contradicted in every line," and Dr. Roberts has brought nothing to shew that it is not.

The same applies to the next passage adduced by me. The answer—if it is intended for an answer—that Dr. Roberts gives to this flies wide of the mark altogether. Josephus says that he alone understood the Aramaic of the deserters who came into the Roman camp. I explain this by saying that Josephus means himself alone of the immediate *entourage* of Titus, and that there may be in it some little exaggeration. On that explanation there would be no contradiction of importance to any other portions of the narrative.¹ But however gross the exaggeration may be, it is still an exaggeration of the statement that he (Josephus) alone understood the reports of the deserters. This must have been because they were in Aramaic. Greek every one would have understood. Aramaic would only be understood by a few Syrians. Dr. Roberts does not meet this inference in the least. He says: "Either another meaning than 'understood' must be given to *συνήν*, or the passage must be regarded as one of many in which Josephus seeks, at the expense of

¹ Of the two passages which Dr. Roberts quotes in proof that others in the Roman army besides Josephus understood the speech of the Jews—in one (*B. J.* iv. 1, 5) it is expressly stated that the party which overheard a conversation in a Jewish house understood what was said "*because they were Syrians*" (*i.e.*, because they spoke Aramaic themselves); in the second, a single Jew addresses Titus—very possibly in Greek.

perfect truthfulness, to magnify his own importance." The suggestion that another meaning should be given to *συνήν* may, I think, be left to itself, as the meaning of the word is perfectly plain. The rest of the sentence leads nowhere. Suppose we grant all that is asked for, that Josephus does "seek to magnify his own importance:" what then? Unless his statement is absolutely and glaringly false, whether he alone understood the deserters, or some few, or even many understood them besides, still they must have spoken Aramaic, and not Greek.

Such are the answers that Dr. Roberts has given to arguments that he describes as "flimsy." I leave it for the reader to decide whether they are "flimsy" or not, but I must also ask the reader to decide as to the way in which they have been met.

12. The last point upon which I shall touch is the evidence of the Talmud and Targums. I did not enter into this before for reasons which I gave. At the same time I expressed my opinion that it was precisely in this direction that a really full and scientific treatment of the subject ought to be sought. I quoted from Credner some minute but very sound and accurate reasoning in favour of the use of a Targum by the first Evangelist, which Dr. Roberts meets with his own subjective opinion, that when our Lord said "Search the scriptures," He cannot have referred to an Aramaic translation.¹ He adds further, that of these Aramaic translations, or Targums, "we hear nothing in Jewish or patristic antiquity;" and again he speaks of "those

¹ I doubt if the reference in these words is to a translation at all. They would be directed, in the first instance, to the scribes and lawyers, the authorized exponents of the Law, whose duty it was to study it in the original.

Aramaic Targums which have so often, without the least ground of evidence, been conjured into existence."

I do not know how to characterize a statement like this with due regard to the moderation which I have wished to observe. It certainly seems to reckon upon an amount of ignorance which I should hope is not to be found amongst the readers of *THE EXPOSITOR*. We have only to take up the first standard authority on the subject. I gave a reference in my previous paper to Deutsch's "Literary Remains." As this has passed unnoticed, I now write it out in full. After giving an account of the gradual substitution of Aramaic for the ancient Hebrew after the Captivity, Mr. Deutsch proceeds to trace the origin and growth of Targums.

"If the common people thus gradually had lost all knowledge of the tongue in which were written the books to be read to them, it naturally followed (in order 'that they might understand them') that recourse must be had to a translation into the idiom with which they were familiar—the Aramaic. That further, since a bare translation could not in all cases suffice, it was necessary to add to the translation an explanation, more particularly of the more difficult and obscure passages. Both translation and explanation were designated by the term *Targum*. In the course of time there sprang up a guild, whose special office it was to act as *interpreters* in both senses (*Meturgeman*), while formerly the learned alone volunteered their services. These interpreters were subjected to certain bonds and regulations, as to the form and substance of their rendering. Thus (comp. Mishnah Meg. *passim*; Mass. Sofer. xi. 1; Maimon. Hilch. Tephill. xii. § 11 ff.; Orach Chaj. 145, 1, 2), 'neither the reader nor the

interpreter are to raise their voices one above the other;' . . . 'the Meturgeman is not to lean against a pillar or a beam, but to stand with fear and with reverence;' '*he is not to use a written Targum*, but is to deliver his translation *vivâ voce*,' lest it might appear that he was reading out of the Torah itself, and thus the Scriptures be held responsible for what are his own dicta; 'no more than one verse in the Pentateuch and three in the Prophets shall be read and translated at a time.' Again (Mishnah Meg. and Tosifta *ad loc.*), certain passages liable to give offence to the multitude are specified which may be read in the synagogue and translated; others, which may be read, but not translated; others, again, which may neither be read nor translated. . . . The same cause which in the course of time led to the writing down—after many centuries of oral transmission—of the whole body of the traditional Law, . . . engendered also, and about the same period as it would appear, written Targums, for certain portions of the Bible at least. The fear of the adulterations and mutilations which the Divine Word—amid the troubles within and without the commonwealth—must undergo at the hands of incompetent or impious exponents, broke through the rule that the Targums should only be oral, lest it might acquire undue authority (comp. Mishnah Meg. iv. 5, 10; Tosifta, *ib.* 3; Jer. Meg. 4, 1; Bab. Meg. 24 *a*; Sota 39 *b*). Thus a Targum of Job is mentioned (Sab. 115 *a*; Tr. Soferim, 5, 15; Tosifta Sab. c. 14; Jer. Sab. 16, 1) as having been highly disapproved by Gamaliel the Elder (middle of first century A.D.), and he caused it to be hidden and buried out of sight. We find, on the other hand, at the end of the second century, the practice of

reading the Targum generally commended, and somewhat later Jehoshua Ben Levi enjoins it as a special duty upon his sons. The Mishnah even contains regulations about the manner (Jad. iv. 5) in which the Targum is to be written." ¹

The vague and indiscriminating censures which Dr. Roberts passes upon the Talmud in his larger work ² are not the slightest answer to definite and coherent statements such as these. Granting that some of the evidence made use of by Mr. Deutsch is comparatively late, much of it is drawn from the Mishnah itself, which dates from about 200 A.D., and was then only the codifying of a much older oral tradition. If Dr. Roberts wishes to continue this controversy, it would be instructive to know what are his views on this matter. And I would ask that the discussion of it might be really to the point, and not consist in a few selected quotations which were written without any reference to the question at issue.

I have thus taken up in all twelve different points : (1) The linguistic inference from the use of the word "Greek;" (2) the argument from the presence of people from Decapolis at the Sermon on the Mount; (3) the like argument from the presence of people from Tyre and Sidon; (4) the relation of the Jews to the Greek language; (5) the special statement of Ewald as to the "intrusion" of Greek into Palestine; (6) the Epistle to the Hebrews; (7) the Apostle Peter; (8) the Galilean dialect; (9) Aramaic expressions in the Gospels; (10) Aceldama; (11) Josephus; (12) Talmud and Targums.

Of these, I do not care to press 10, though, as far as

¹ Deutsch, "Literary Remains," pp. 324-328.

² "Discussions," p. 297.

it goes, it is in my favour. Neither is much to be gathered either way from 7 and 9. On 1 and 2 (which should be taken together), 3 and 6, Dr. Roberts's premises are doubtful, and, if they were certain, the conclusion would not follow from them. 5, which is quoted against, tells really for the view which I have maintained. On 4 and 12 the existence of evidence is denied where clear and definite evidence has been produced. On 8 a conclusion follows from Dr. Roberts's own admissions which is fatal to his theory and which he has done nothing to remove. 11 remains as decisive against him as it was, the answer given being quite irrelevant.

Apart from the positive evidence which has been adduced in support of the opposite conclusion, Dr. Roberts himself has made admissions which are enough to prove that his own position is untenable. He admits that Aramaic was the "vernacular language" of Palestine. He admits that in the wars of Vespasian and Titus "the study and employment of the Greek language were formally prohibited." From the first admission it follows that our Lord *must* have taught, for the most part, in Aramaic. From the second admission it follows that Greek *cannot* have been, in the generation before the Jewish wars, the dominant tongue.

I have been much disappointed with Dr. Roberts's reply. I expected at least to have the subject treated in a scholarly and critical manner, and I have seldom read anything less critical. By "critical" I mean exact in definition, cautious in statement, strictly relevant and logical in reasoning. I have met with many rough-and-ready arguments that are such as

an advocate might urge before a popular jury ; I have hardly met with one that would carry weight with a scholar who took the trouble to give it a few moments' consideration. Anything like a judicious and impartial weighing of objections is very far to seek. I do not know what the readers of *THE EXPOSITOR* may think, but Dr. Roberts has lost at least one convert who might easily have been made if the case would have admitted it. I am now more convinced than I was before that he is spending his powers on a quite untenable cause.

W. SANDAY.

STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

III.—THE PERSONALITY OF JESUS.

THE Person of Christ is the perennial glory and strength of Christianity. If the life of our faith had depended on its signs and wonders, it had perished long ago. If they win the ages of wonder they offend the ages of inquiry ; and as the world grows in years credulous spirits die and critical spirits increase. But the Person that stands at the centre of our faith can never cease to be winsome while men revere the holy and love the good. His moral loveliness has been as potent to charm the human spirit into obedience as the harp of the ancient mythical musician was to charm nature into listening and life ; has by its soft strong spell held the wicked till he ceased to sin and learned to love, and the tender and guileless heart of a child began to beat within his breast.

The Person of Christ makes the Christian faith, is its sacred source and highest object. In it lie hidden the causes of what He afterwards became. Circumstances

did not make Him ; God did. Thousands lived under the same conditions, in the midst of the same society, under the same heaven, in communion with the same nature, were born in the same faith, nurtured in the same schools and under the same influences ; yet of these thousands not one can be named with even the most distant claim to be compared or matched with Jesus. And why from among the many millions living in his own land and time did He alone become the Christ ? The ultimate answer must be sought in his nature, in his person. That was his own, not given by man, but by God, full of the potencies that have blossomed into the glorious Being that has overlooked and ruled the ages. Education can educe, but cannot produce ; circumstances may plant and water, but they cannot create ; the increase must be given of God. Where the eminence is so pre-eminent and peculiar, the name that best expresses the nature and relations of Him who achieved it is the one proper to Jesus alone among men, "the Son of God."

The Person of Jesus stands in the most intimate and organic relation with his words and acts. Here the speaker and thing spoken are, while distinguishable and different, inseparable. The teaching of Jesus is his articulated character, his Person the realized religion of Christ. The more the Person is studied the better should the religion be understood ; in the former the latter finds its creative source. Of the works Jesus performed, the greatest must ever remain Himself, since beyond all question the grandest element in Christianity is Christ. But if we are to know what He was as a result, we must, in some measure at least, know how He became it. He was not an abnormal being, an arti-

ficial or mechanical product, but a growth. His manhood developed out of a youth which had beneath it boyhood, childhood, and infancy. For the perfect man could be perfect only as his becoming was throughout human. A being sent full-formed into the world had been a monstrosity—a stranger to our kind, like us, perhaps, in form, unlike us in everything essential and distinctive. But He who came to lift us from our evil came to do it in and through our nature, and in Him it orbled into the one perfect Person that has at once dignified and redeemed humanity. And so He has made the world feel that while He hates evil He loves man, and men can cry to Him—

Be near us when we climb or fall :
Ye watch, like God, the rolling hours,
With larger, other eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all.

The growth of Christ must, then, be considered natural: strictly so alike in its physical, intellectual, and ethical aspects. His manhood can be real only as it remains a manhood realized within the limits necessary to man. The supernatural in Jesus did not exist for Jesus, but for the world. What He achieved for others might manifest the superhuman; what He achieved in Himself shewed the human—humanity under its common conditions, obedient to its own, or rather its Maker's laws, become perfect, the realization of its eternal ideal or archetype as it exists in God. But one so conceived is not remote from God—rather is penetrated and possessed by Him. His humanity is full of the Divine—is a Divine humanity. Yet it is so for moral rather than physical reasons, because of spiritual rather than essential relationships. Were his humanity but a mask

for his divinity, it would be illusive, without the meaning that belongs to truth, or the strength that belongs to reality. But if we must hold the reality of his manhood we must not shrink from the idea of his growth. Luke, at least, did not. He ¹ exhibits the marvellous boy as increasing in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

But this growth cannot be well conceived apart from the scenes and influences amid and under which it went on. These, therefore, need to be collected into a more or less coherent picture. We must begin with his Home. It was at Nazareth, a town which survives almost unchanged to this day. Its narrow streets, tall houses, here and there almost meeting overhead ; its still life, flowing undisturbed by the thoughts that move and the fears that agitate the great world, are now much as they were then. The home was poor. Joseph was an artisan, and Mary, woman of all work as well as mother. Their house would be of the common Eastern type, house and workshop in one, lighted mostly by the door, the light shewing curiously mingled the furniture of the family and the tools of the mechanic. The daily fare would be humble enough ; everywhere the signs of less meanness, perhaps, but more poverty than need be found in the home of our modern carpenter. The circumstances were not propitious to magnanimity, to wealth and majesty of soul. Town and home were alike insignificant, poor. Nazareth was a remote place, neither loved by the Jew nor admired by the Gentile. It was not a centre into which the wise of many lands gathered, where the words of the mighty dead were studied, and their spirits unsphered.

¹ Luke ii. 52.

Small as to population, secluded as to position, it nestled in its quiet nook, undisturbed by the march of armies, or the stiller but grander march of mind. There Jesus grew, his genial soul making the soil genial, unwatered by strange dews, unwarmed by alien suns, in breeding, a Child of Moses, in birth, "the Son of God."

But the home is made by the Parents ; they determine its ethical and intellectual character. For the Hebrew the home had pre-eminent sanctity ; his religion dignified and blessed it. Paternity was honourable, the sign of Divine favour, children being "the heritage of the Lord." Honour to parents was the highest and best rewarded human duty, stood second only to the honour due to God. The children God gave man was to teach ; He who made the family was to receive its homage. And so the home was to be a school for religion ; the father was to instruct his children, and command them that "they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment."¹ Parents and children in Israel had thus a sanctity to each other unknown to the men of Greece and Rome ; their relations were throughout religious, consecrated by God and defined by his law. And if we may interpret the home at Nazareth through the mind and speech of Jesus, it must have been an ideal Hebrew home. It is but reasonable to suppose that in his later teaching his earlier experiences are in part reflected. "Father" is a name He so uses as to shew that for Him it was steeped in the fondest and tenderest associations, was the symbol of loved memories and endeared relationships. In the picture of the father who cannot resist his child's pleading, or the still grander picture of one

¹ Gen. xviii. 19.

who knows how to forgive and restore a penitent son, and how to rebuke and forgive a son hyper- because hypo- critical, we seem to have features that could be painted only by a hand guided by a heart that had known before the imagination had created. Even within "Our Father which art in heaven" there may live a transfigured earthly reminiscence, the recollection of a father who had passed into the heavens. Childhood, too, is beautiful to Jesus, the manifest image of a time when He lived, sheltered and tended by prescient love. Years that were so sunny to memory could not have been bitter to experience, must have been possessed of the light and love that are to the heart of man as the life of God. Then He learned the value and the strength of human affection, the holy and beautiful love that in the child responds to the brooding and creative love of the parent.

Beside the home there stood the School. Schools, in the modern, or in any formal sense, Jesus could hardly have known. There were, indeed, famous schools in Jerusalem, but no evidence that in the time of Jesus any existed in Nazareth. The wonder both of Nazareth and Jerusalem as to how He had come by his wisdom, and as to how He knew his letters,¹ proves that He had not been educated in any school. Yet He must have had teachers. He knew letters, could read the Scriptures, was familiar with the interpretations of tradition and the school.² We may well believe that his parents had been his earliest teachers. An authority no Hebrew could despise bound them to teach their children the law and the words of God.³

¹ Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2; John vii. 15.

² Matt. xii. 3, xix. 4; Luke iv. 16; Matt. xv. 1-9, xxiii. 2, ff., v. 17-20; Mark xii. 35.

³ Deut. xi. 19.

The proverbs the Jew loved, the short pregnant sayings into which were condensed the experience and wisdom of the ancients, were taught the child by father and mother alike.¹ Then there was the synagogue, where Jesus must often have been, and where his wondrous open soul must have learned by every sense. In the society of the worshippers He would enter into the fellowship of Israel, become conscious of affinities that would awaken many sympathies, especially with the sins, the sorrows, the hopes, the aspirations of man. There, too, as He listened to the skilled yet childish interpretation of the Law, as He watched the masked yet apparent struggles for place, He may have learned to understand the scribes and Pharisees. The synagogue may have been the school that instructed Him in the *idola* of the human heart, shewed Him how man could be so loyal to his own dreams and doctrines as to be faithless to Divine realities and truths. But with Him to see the folly and weakness of man was only the better to know the wisdom and strength of God. As He sat listening to the voices of heaven and earth, now blending in strange sweet music, and again meeting in sad deep discord, what thoughts, what visions of man's struggle towards God and God's endeavour to reach man must have come to Him! In experiences like these the Christ would find teachers qualifying Him to be a merciful and faithful High Priest, compassionate to the ignorant while dutiful to righteousness and truth.

Then, his study of the Scriptures must have been an eminently educative study. His knowledge of them was so great as to astonish the scribes and Pharisees, as well as the people. Such knowledge was possible

¹ Prov. i. 8, xxxi. 1.

only to years of study and meditation, and years so spent must have been full of the noblest formative and informative influences. Those old Hebrew books, with their great thoughts as to God, their strong faith in his righteous rule and high purposes, their record of man's sin and error, yet resolute and pathetic endeavour after the light, must have enabled the mind of the Christ to penetrate as from below the mysteries of the Divine nature, to see as from above the miseries of the human. And as He became conscious of their meaning, He must also have discovered that light did not always signify sight, that in man false or half-vision often made the luminous worse than the dark. And so the Scriptures would awaken Him to the unity of the ages, the kinship of the earliest with the latest, the grand Divine purpose that man in all his times and families was fulfilling, though seldom with the consciousness that his acts were being used to promote, the ends of God. He has been to us the interpretation of the Scriptures, the fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets; but before He could be so to us they must have been as an interpreter to Him, revealing Himself to Himself, translating, as it were, reminiscence into knowledge. Study of the written word became fellowship with the Living Will, and the visible Son rested consciously in the embrace of the invisible Father.

But Nature is to the spirit that loves her as great an educator as the Scriptures. The modern poet that knew and loved her best has made us feel how she can teach and exalt, creating

sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart,
And passing even into our purer mind,
With tranquil restoration ;

how in her presence one can hear "the still sad music of humanity," and enjoy

that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until the breath of this corporeal frame,
And even the motions of our human blood,
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul.

Now, the purest calmest Spirit earth has known could not but find nature a translucent veil revealing the Father it seemed to conceal. Nazareth is said to lie amid beauties. The hill which rises behind the city looks upon a scene of rarest loveliness; mountains that uplift their snowy heads to a heaven that stoops to kiss them; valleys fruitful, vineclad, swelling into soft ridges, melting into a plain that slopes in lines of rich beauty to the distant sea. And the scene must have been familiar to his eye, all its objects terms in which He and heaven could speak to each other, its moods moments when Father and Son could stand, as it were, face to face. His words shew how full his mind was of Nature and the truths she teaches to those that in loving her love her Maker. The brooding heaven, so distant yet so near, where shone the sun that enlightened the earth, whence came the rain and the heat that fertilized it, was at once the home and symbol of his Father.¹ The lily, clothed with a loveliness which shamed the splendour of Solomon; the skimming swallows by dutiful diligence to-day making care for to-morrow vain and undutiful; the sparrow that, while unloved of man, yet lived and multiplied; the sower going out to sow; the green blade breaking through the dark soil; the

¹ Matt. v. 34, 45, vi. 9.

fields yellowing for the sickle; the fig-tree throwing out its leaves; the vine, with its hanging clusters and grateful juices,¹ had attracted his eyes, filled Him with a sense of the beauty that is everywhere in nature, of the Divine care that pervades everything and protects all life. Nature bears to us another and nobler meaning since He lived, and the meaning He found for us He must have first found for Himself. As He walked, "in pious meditation, fancy fed," on the hill that overlooks Nazareth, through the vineyards and corn-fields that clothe its slopes; as He stood on the shores of Gennesaret, watching the calm heaven mirrored in the calm lake; his spirit in the degree that it opened to nature opened to God, and humanity became in Him conscious of its Divine affinities, at one with the Father.

But man cannot be educated without Society; his nature cannot develop all its energies or breathe out all its fragrance in solitude. The teacher of man must know men, must be taught of men, that he may teach man. And Jesus was not denied the education society alone can give. He had the discipline that comes of social duty. He was a Son and Brother, fulfilled the duties proper to relations so near and tender, experienced and enjoyed the affections that brighten the home. He was not a father, yet it is almost certain that He knew paternal cares. He was the first, but not the only child of Mary; and it is more than probable that Joseph died during the youth or early manhood of Jesus. On the death of the father, the eldest Son would inherit his responsibilities, become the

¹ Matt. vi. 25, 26, 28-30, x. 29, 31; Luke xii. 6, 7; Matt. xiii. 3, ff.; Mark iv. 28; John iv. 35; Matt. xxi. 19, xxiv. 32, xxvi. 21; John xv. 1, ff.

guardian and bread-winner of the family. And so to Him was granted the Divine discipline of toil, of labour for the bread that perisheth, yet undergone because of relations that are imperishable. Work for home is a noble education. It makes man forethoughtful, unselfish, dutiful to the weak, tender to the sorrowful, mindful of the loving. It had been a calamity to Himself and his mission had our Christ been deprived of so grand yet so universal a discipline. He was not, and it was, perhaps, the condition of his sympathy with poverty and toil. His own mother may have been the widow that cast her mite into the treasury,¹ and his own may have been a heart pierced and touched by a child's cry for bread.² The education of Christ has been the education of man. What He learned in society and the home has helped Him to soften the heart and sweeten the relations of society throughout the world.

But we must now study the Personality formed under these varied influences. We cannot see the process, only the result. The man in germ, the Personality in the making, we see but once,³ yet the once is almost enough. The child has come with his parents to Jerusalem. The city, the solemnities, the temple, the priests, the sacrifices, the people, have stirred multitudinous new thoughts in the boy. He becomes for the moment forgetful of his kin, conscious of higher and diviner relations, and seeks light and sympathy where they were most likely to be found—in the temple, and with the doctors. It is an eminently natural and truthful incident. The ideal Child, wise in his innocent simplicity, seeks the society of simple but learned age,

¹ Mark xii. 42.² Matt. vii. 9.³ Luke ii. 41, ff.

feels at home in it, wonders only, when sought and found, that it could be in his mother's mind other than it was in his own. The light that streams from the question, "'Wist ye not that I must be among my Father's matters,' in his house, in search of his truth, mindful of his purposes?" illumines the youth, and makes him foreshadow the man. For He who as boy was anxious to be absorbed in his Father and his Father's affairs, became as man the conscious abode of God. Here, indeed, emerges the sublimest and most distinctive feature of his Personality. In Him, as in no other, God lived; He lived as no other ever did in God. Their communion was a union which authorized the sayings, "I and the Father are one;" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." His consciousness was full of God, was consciousness of God. Fellowship with man did not lessen it; solitude only made it more real. The society of the sinful did not disturb his serene certainty, or becloud for a moment his sense of the indwelling Presence. Amid faithless friends and bitter foes, in the shadow of his doom and the exhaustion of his great sorrow, in the agony of the garden, the desertion and death of the cross, He was never without the clear and certain consciousness of the Father's presence. And this so distinctive feature of his Personality has made Him of pre-eminent religious significance. Since Jesus lived, God has been another and nearer Being to man; and the reason lies in that universal and ideal significance of his Person which made it a symbol as well as a reality, and a symbol which shewed that what God was to Jesus He might be to every man, what Jesus was to God every man ought to be. He who sails across an unknown

sea and finds beyond it a continent is named a discoverer; and so Jesus, in the region of the Spirit, standing where no one in human form ever stood before, found a new relation to God, and became the Founder of a new religion for man. His Personality became the creative type of a new and more filial relation to God: since his day we have inherited the spirit of sons, and can cry, "Abba, Father."

But his relation to Man was in its kind and degree as perfect as his relation to God. It rested on a conception at once truthful and generous. He conceived God as He is, and loved Him because He is Love; He conceived man as he ought to be, and loved him for the sake of the Divine ideal hidden under the depraved reality. Jesus loved holiness and hated sin. Evil was not in Himself, and his aversion to it was the radical and invincible aversion of a whole and holy nature. Yet He did not allow his hatred of the sin to become hatred of the sinners. He discovered within the evil a soul of good, and, what was even more, made them conscious of the discovery and the promise it contained. Men offensive to the traditional and typical religious character are seldom treated with mercy. A double and ineradicable suspicion almost always stands in the way of reaching and restoring outcasts—their suspicion of the respectable and the religious, and the suspicion the respectable and religious have of them. A studiously correct society has ever found excommunication and exclusion of the evil easier and safer than reconciliation and restoration. But Jesus made his way to the outcasts, became their Friend in order that they might become his, and as his, friends of righteousness. Men whose goodness was of the con-

ventional type thought they had condemned Him when they had named Him "the friend of publicans and sinners." But his friendship was justified by its results; it did not make *Him* a publican and a sinner, while it made men who were either or both friends of righteousness and truth. His relation to the evil was absolutely unique. He did not satirize or sneer at the sins and follies of men, like the cynic. Cynicism does not so much hate evil as despise folly; and, while it may keep the respectable from open vice, it can never restore the vicious to virtue. He did not, like the conventional moralist, hold Himself aloof from the fallen. The separation he enjoins may prevent the deterioration of the good, but can never promote the amelioration of the bad. Jesus, on the other hand, did not allow the man's evil to hide the man—saw that he was a man in spite of the evil. In every one there was an actual and an ideal—the actual might be his own, but the ideal was God's. Whatever the man might have made himself, there still remained the possibility of his becoming what God had intended him to be. And this belief of the Divine possibility within the depraved reality made Jesus seek, that He might save, the lost. The goodness He incarnated could vanquish man's evil, while the evil could not vanquish it. He had the purity which could see the best things in the worst man as well as the holiest and loveliest things in God; and when purity is hopeful of the impure, the impure themselves can hardly despair. And so the hope that lived in the Saviour was planted in the lost; what He believed possible they too came to believe, and the belief was at once translated into sublime and singular reality—the lost were saved.

But the relation of Jesus to Righteousness was as

perfect as his relation to God and man. His moral ideal was the highest. He lived to do the will of God. His beatitudes were moral, the good was the blessed man. But it is significant that one whose ethical ideal was so exalted had Himself no consciousness of sin, confessed to no sense of guilt, to no failure in obedience. In one constituted like Jesus, to be without the sense of sin was to be sinless, to be conscious of no disobedience was to have always obeyed. And this becomes the more evident when his goodness is seen to be spontaneous, without effort, the free and joyous outcome of a nature so happy as to have been always holy. His calm and serene soul knew no struggle, no conflict of the flesh and spirit such as made the experience of his greatest apostle so tragic. He knew sorrow, but it was the sorrow of the heart that weeps for sin, not of the conscience that reproves it. And the character that expressed this spontaneous obedience was a harmony of blended opposites. He was so gentle as to draw the love and trust of little children, as to conquer the suspicion and fear the fallen ever feel towards the holy ; but He was so stern as to rebuke hypocrisy in words that still burn, so strong as to resist evil till it vanquished his life in revenge for its failure to vanquish his will. He was "meek and lowly in heart," had no love for place or power, no lust of wealth or position, no craving for the fame that is the last infirmity of noble minds ; but yet He claimed a majesty so august that beside it Cæsar's was the merest mock royalty. He had singular independence, a will so strong that nothing could unfix its resolution or divert it from its chosen path ; but yet He was so dependent that in his deepest agony He sought the sympathy and presence

of man. These features of his character are but phases of his obedience. The principle that rules Him is one, the forms which express his loyalty to it are many. His nature is good and his goodness spontaneous, but it ever assumes the aspect appropriate to the moments of his many-sided and significant life.

These phases and features of his Personality emerge in his teaching, give to it its most distinctive characteristics. His words as to God but express truths represented in his own relation to the Father. The love from heaven that filled and surrounded his soul became articulate in his sayings and parables. What He experienced He expressed ; the God He knew He made known ; and as we enter into the truth He embodied and revealed, we enter into a relation to the Father akin to his. And as He thought, felt, and acted towards man, so He taught concerning him. His words witness to his faith in the Divine possibilities that still live in the most depraved man, and witness, too, to the yearning of the Supreme Goodness we call God after his broken and buried image. The parables that speak of the shepherd that seeks till he finds his lost lamb ; of the woman that lights the candle and searches for the coin she can ill spare ; of the father who watches for the return of the prodigal, and receives him with weeping joy ; represent the Divine side of his mission, the attitude of his own unique Personality to the fallen and outcast. And the sermons and parables that enforce and illustrate the righteousness He loved, the virtues He instituted or made possible, obedience of the one righteous Will, imitation of the perfect God, forgiveness, prayerfulness, truthfulness, purity, faith, charity, love to the stranger, sympathy with the suffer-

ing, tenderness to the fallen, only describe and enjoin the ideals He had realized, the graces that were personalized in Him. He who rightly apprehends the relation of the Personality to the teaching of Christ will understand why He was and is "full of grace and truth."

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

A BRIEF NOTICE.

THE LIFE AND WORDS OF CHRIST. *By Cunningham Geikie, D.D.* Vols. I. and II. (London: Strahan and Co.) It is obviously impossible to do justice to these two portly and handsome volumes in the few sentences which the remnant of this page will hold. I can only give the briefest indication of their quality and value.

Dr. Geikie's Life of our Lord is not so rhetorical and picturesque as the popular work of Canon Farrar, nor is it marked by the moral penetration and force of Mr. Beecher's noble fragment. But it is far more erudite than either, and must have cost far more study and labour. It is well and carefully written, and often rises into a sober and chastened eloquence. And of all the "Lives" we possess, it is likely to prove most helpful and informing to those who teach and preach the Word. It supplies them with precisely what they want in order that they may place the sayings of our Lord in a telling and picturesque setting of historical circumstances and local colour. It gives the results of wide reading and immense industry, and is really, though not formally, an elaborate and invaluable commentary on the four Gospels.

It has its defects, of course, for it is as true of books as of their authors, that never was any yet so perfect,

but some defect in it
Did quarrel with the noblest grace it owed,
And put it to the foil.

And the main defect of this book is, perhaps, that Dr. Geikie gives his reading of a disputed text, or his solution of a difficult problem, not as *his* view of it simply, but as though there were none to question it. Defects notwithstanding, our advice to all ministers of the Word who can allow themselves only one Life of Christ, is—By all means get this.

S. COX.

ON THE SUPPOSED SCRIPTURAL EXPRESSION FOR ETERNITY.¹

(By Thomas de Quincey.)

FORTY years ago (or, in all probability, a good deal more, for we have already completed thirty-seven years from Waterloo, and my remembrances upon this subject go back to a period lying much behind that great era) I used to be annoyed and irritated by the false interpretation given to the Greek word *aïōn*, and given necessarily, therefore, to the adjective *aionios* as its immediate derivative. It was not so much the falsehood of this interpretation, as the narrowness of that

¹ Polemics do not enter into the design of THE EXPOSITOR, least of all the polemics of theology. Momentous as the question is in itself, therefore, and much as it just now engages the public attention, I do not propose to introduce into these pages any discussion on the nature and duration of future punishment. To find room for it, indeed, would be impossible, except at the cost of excluding many of those expositions of Scripture which it is the leading aim of this Magazine to furnish. But it is quite consistent with that aim to insert fine and delicate criticism of New Testament words and phrases, even although these words and phrases should be involved in the controversies of the hour. Such criticism, especially if it is not animated by a controversial spirit, cannot fail to be welcome and helpful to men of every school of thought. And therefore I have much pleasure in reproducing a paper of De Quincey's, which, though it is one of the most charming and characteristic he ever wrote, has not found a place in his Collected Works, and hence is inaccessible to many students who would be glad to consult it, and even to most. It appeared in "Hogg's Instructor" some twenty-five years ago, and I have taken pains to secure an exact reproduction of it. It is marked by the accuracy, the delicacy of thought, the felicity of diction, for which De Quincey was famous. And as it carries the weight of his commanding authority on all questions of Greek scholarship, I am not without hope that it may be held to determine one point which is still often debated by scholars of an inferior grade, viz., the true meaning of the words *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* as used in the Scriptures of the New Testament.—EDITOR.

falsehood, which disturbed me. There was a glimmer of truth in it; and precisely that glimmer it was which led the way to a general and obstinate misconception of the meaning. The word is remarkably situated. It is a scriptural word, and it is also a Greek word; from which the inevitable inference is that we must look for it only in the *New Testament*. Upon any question arising of deep, aboriginal, doctrinal truth, we have nothing to do with translations. Those are but secondary questions, archæological and critical, upon which we have a right to consult the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures known by the name of the *Septuagint*.

Suffer me to pause at this point for the sake of premising an explanation needful to the unlearned reader. As the *reading* public and the *thinking* public is every year outgrowing more and more notoriously the mere *learned* public, it becomes every year more and more the right of the former public to give the law, preferably to the latter public, upon all points which concern its own separate interests. In past generations no pains were taken to make explanations that were not called for by the *learned* public. All other readers were ignored. They formed a mob, for whom no provision was made. And that many difficulties should be left entirely unexplained for *them*, was superciliously assumed to be no fault at all. And yet any sensible man, let him be as supercilious as he may, must on consideration allow that amongst the crowd of unlearned or half-learned readers, who have had neither time nor opportunities for what is called "*erudition*" or learned studies, there must always lurk a proportion of men that, by constitution of mind and by the bounty of

nature, are much better fitted for thinking, originally more philosophic, and more capaciously endowed, than those who are, by accident of position, more learned. Such a natural superiority certainly takes precedence of a merely artificial superiority; and, therefore, it entitles those who possess it to a special consideration. Let there be an audience gathered about any book of 10,100 readers: it might be fair in these days to assume that 10,000 would be in a partial sense illiterate, and the remaining 100 what would be rigorously classed as "learned." Now, on such a distribution of the readers, it would be a matter of certainty that the most powerful intellects would lie amongst the illiterate 10,000, counting, probably, 15 to 1 as against those in the learned minority. The inference, therefore, would be, that, in all equity, the interest of the unlearned section claimed a priority of attention, not merely as the more numerous section, but also as, by a high probability, the more philosophic. And in proportion as this unlearned section widens and expands, which every year it does, in that proportion the obligation and cogency of this equity strengthens. An attention to the unlearned part of an audience, which fifteen years ago might have rested upon pure courtesy, *now* rests upon a basis of absolute justice. I make this preliminary explanation in order to take away the appearance of caprice from such occasional pauses as I may make for the purpose of clearing up obscurities or difficulties. Formerly, in a case of that nature, the learned reader would have told me that I was not entitled to delay *him* by elucidations that in *his* case must be supposed to be superfluous; and in such a remonstrance there would once have been some equity:

The illiterate section of the readers might then be fairly assumed as present only by accident, as no abiding part of the audience ; but, like the general public in the gallery of the House of Commons, as present only by sufferance, and officially in any records of the House whatever utterly ignored as existences. At present, half-way on our pilgrimage through the nineteenth century, I reply to such a learned remonstrant—that it gives me pain to annoy him by superfluous explanations, but that, unhappily, this infliction of tedium upon *him* is inseparable from what has now become a duty to others.

This being said, I now go on to inform the illiterate reader that the earliest translation of the Hebrew Scriptures ever made was into Greek. It was undertaken on the encouragement of a learned prince, Ptolemy Philadelphus, by an association of Jewish emigrants in Alexandria. It was, as the event has shewn in very many instances, an advantage of a rank rising to providential, that such a cosmopolitan version of the Hebrew sacred writings should have been made at a moment when a rare concurrence of circumstances happened to make it possible : such as, for example, a king both learned in his tastes and liberal in his principles of religious toleration ; a language, viz., the Greek, which had already become, what for many centuries it continued to be, a common language of communication for the learned of the whole *οικουμένη* (*i.e.*, in effect of, the civilized world, viz., Greece, the shores of the Euxine, the whole of Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Carthage, and all the dependencies of Carthage ; finally, and above all, all Rome, then beginning to loom upon the western horizon), together with all the dependencies of Rome,

and, briefly, every state and city that adorned the imperial islands of the Mediterranean, or that glittered like gems in that vast belt of land, roundly speaking, 1000 miles in average breadth, and in circuit running up to 5000 miles. 1000 multiplied into 5 times 1000, or, otherwise expressed, a thousand thousand 5 times repeated, or, otherwise, a million 5 times repeated, briefly, a territory measuring 5,000,000 of square miles, or 45 times the surface of our two British islands—such was the boundless domain which this extraordinary act of Ptolemy suddenly threw open to the literature and spiritual revelation of a little obscure race, nestling in a little angle of Asia, scarcely visible as a fraction of Syria, buried in the broad shadows thrown out on one side by the great and ancient settlements on the Nile, and on the other by the vast empire that for thousands of years occupied the Tigris and the Euphrates. In the twinkling of an eye, at a sudden summons, as it were from the sounding of a trumpet, or the Oriental call by a clapping of hands, gates are thrown open, which have an effect corresponding in grandeur to the effect that would arise from the opening of a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien, viz., the introduction to each other—face to face—of two separate infinities. Such a canal would suddenly lay open to each other the two great oceans of our planet, the Atlantic and the Pacific; whilst the act of translating *into* Greek and *from* Hebrew, that is, transferring out of a mysterious cipher as little accessible as Sanscrit, and which never *would* be more accessible through any worldly attractions of alliance with power and civic grandeur or commerce, *out of* this darkness *into* the golden light of a language the most beautiful, the most

honoured amongst men, and the most widely diffused through a thousand years to come, had the immeasurable effect of throwing into the great crucible of human speculation, even then beginning to ferment, to boil, to overflow—that mightiest of all elements for exalting the chemistry of philosophy—grand, and, for the first time, adequate conceptions of the Deity. For although it is true that, until Elias should come—that is, until Christianity should have applied its final revelation to the completion of this great idea—we could not possess it in its total effulgence, it is however certain that an immense advance was made, a prodigious usurpation across the realms of chaos, by the grand illuminations of the Hebrew discoveries. Too terrifically austere we must presume the Hebrew idea to have been; too undeniably it had not withdrawn the veil entirely which still rested upon the Divine countenance; so much is involved in the subsequent revelations of Christianity. But still the advance made in reading aright the Divine lineaments had been enormous. God was now a holy spirit that could not tolerate impurity. He was the fountain of justice, and no longer disfigured by any mode of sympathy with human caprice or infirmity. And if a frown too awful still rested upon his face, making the approach to him too fearful for harmonizing with that perfect freedom and that childlike love which God seeks in his worshippers, it was yet made evident that no step for conciliating his favour did or could lie through any but *moral* graces.

Three centuries after this great epoch of the *publication* (for such it was) secured so providentially to the Hebrew theology, two learned Jews—viz., Josephus and Philo-Judæus — had occasion to seek a cosmo-

politan utterance for that burden of truth (or what they regarded as truth) which oppressed the spirit within them. Once again they found a deliverance from the very same freezing imprisonment in an unknown language, through the very same magical key, viz., the all-pervading language of Greece, which carried their communications to the four winds of heaven, and carried them precisely amongst the class of men—viz., the enlightened and educated class—which pre-eminently, if not exclusively, their wish was to reach. About one generation *after* Christ it was, when the utter prostration, and, politically speaking, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, threw these two learned Jews upon this recourse to the Greek language as their final resource, in a condition otherwise of absolute hopelessness. Pretty nearly three centuries *before* Christ it was (284 years, according to the common reckoning), when the first act of communication took place between the sealed-up literature of Palestine and the Greek catholic interpretation. Altogether we may say that 320 years, or somewhere about ten generations of men, divided these two memorable acts of intercommunication. Such a space of time allows a large range of influence and of silent unconscious operation to the vast and potent ideas that brooded over this awful Hebrew literature. Too little weight has been allowed to the probable contagiousness and to the preternatural shock of such a new and strange philosophy acting upon the jaded and exhausted intellect of the Grecian race. We must remember that precisely this particular range of time was that in which the Greek systems of philosophy, having thoroughly completed their evolution, had suf-

fered something of a collapse ; and, having exhausted their creative energies, began to gratify the cravings for novelty by remodellings of old forms. It is remarkable, indeed, that this very city of Alexandria founded and matured this new principle of remodelling, applied to poetry not less than to philosophy and criticism. And, considering the activity of this great commercial city and port, which was meant to act, and *did* act, as a centre of communication between the East and the West, it is probable that a far greater effect was produced by the Greek translation of the Jewish Scriptures, in the way of preparing the mind of nations for the apprehension of Christianity, than has ever been distinctly recognized. The silent destruction of books in those centuries has robbed us of all means for tracing innumerable revolutions, that nevertheless, by the evidence of results, must have existed. Taken, however, with or without this additional result, the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in their most important portions must be ranked amongst what are called "providential" events. Such a king — a king whose father had been a personal friend of Alexander, the mighty civilizing conqueror, and had shared in the liberalization connected with his vast revolutionary projects for extending a higher civilization over the globe—such a king, concurring with such a language, having advantages so absolutely unrivalled, and again this king and this language concurring with a treasure so supernatural of spiritual wisdom as the subject of their ministrations, and all three concurring with political events so auspicious—the founding of a new and mighty metropolis in Egypt, and the silent advance to supreme power amongst men of a new empire,

martial beyond all precedent as regarded *means*, but not as regarded *ends*—working in all things towards the unity of civilization and the unity of law, so that any new impulse, as, for instance, impulse of a new religion, was destined to find new facilities for its own propagation, resembling electric conductors, under the unity of government and of law—concurrences like these, so many and so strange, justly impress upon this translation, the most memorable, because the most influential of all that have ever been accomplished, a character of grandeur that places it on the same level of interest as the building of the first or second Temple at Jerusalem.

There is a Greek legend which openly ascribes to this translation all the characters of a miracle. But, as usually happens, this vulgarizing form of the miraculous is far less impressive than the plain history itself, unfolding its stages with the most unpretending historical fidelity. Even the Greek language, on which, as the natural language of the new Greek dynasty in Egypt, the duty of the translation devolved, enjoyed a double advantage: first, as being the only language then spoken upon earth that could diffuse a book over *every* part of the civilized earth; secondly, as being a language of unparalleled power and compass for expressing and reproducing effectually all ideas, however alien and novel. Even the city, again, in which this translation was accomplished, had a double dowry of advantages towards such a labour, not only as enjoying a large literary society, and, in particular, a large Jewish society, together with unusual provision in the shape of libraries, on a scale probably at that time unprecedented, but also as having the most extensive

machinery then known to human experience for *publishing*; that is, for transmitting to foreign capitals all books in the readiest and the cheapest fashion, by means of its prodigious shipping.

Having thus indicated to the *unlearned* reader the particular nature of that interest which invests this earliest translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, viz., that in fact this translation was the earliest *publication* to the human race of a revelation which had previously been locked up in a language destined, as surely as the Welsh language or the Gaelic, to eternal obscurity amongst men, I go on to mention that the learned Jews selected for this weighty labour happened to be in number seventy-two; but, as the Jews systematically reject fractions in such cases (whence it is that always, in order to express the period of six weeks, they say *forty days*, and not, as strictly they should, *forty-two days*), popularly, the translators were called "the seventy," for which the Latin word is *septuaginta*. And thus in after ages the translators were usually indicated as "The LXX.," or, if the work and not the workmen should be noticed, it was cited as *The Septuagint*. In fact, this earliest of scriptural versions, viz., into Greek, is by much the most famous; or, if any other approaches it in notoriety, it is the Latin translation by St. Jerome, which, in this one point, enjoys even a superior importance, that in the Church of Rome it is the authorized translation. Evidently, in every Church, it must be a matter of primary importance to assign the particular version to which that Church appeals, and by which, in any controversy arising, that Church consents to be governed. Now the Jerome Version fulfils this function for the Romish

Church ; and accordingly, in the sense of being published (*vulgata*), or publicly authorized by that Church, it is commonly called *The Vulgate*.

But, in a large polemic question, unless, like the Romish Church, we uphold a secondary inspiration as having secured a special privileged translation from the possibility of error, we cannot refuse an appeal to the Hebrew text for the Old Testament, or to the Greek text for the New. The word *aeonios* (*αιωνιος*), as purely Grecian, could not connect itself with the Old Testament, unless it were through the Septuagint translation into Greek. Now, with that version, in any case of controversy, none of us, Protestants alike or Roman Catholics, have anything whatever to do. Controversially, we *can* be concerned only with the original language of the Scriptures, with its actual verbal expressions textually produced. To be liable, therefore, to such a textual citation, any Greek word must belong to the *New Testament*. Because, though the word might happen to occur in the Septuagint, yet, since *that* is merely a translation, for any of us who occupy a controversial place, that is, who are bound by the responsibilities or who claim the strict privileges of controversy, the Septuagint has no virtual existence. We should not be at liberty to allege the Septuagint as any authority, if it happened to countenance our own views ; and, consequently, we could not be called on to recognize the Septuagint in any case where it should happen to be against us. I make this preliminary *caveat*, as not caring whether the word *aeonios* does or does not occur in the Septuagint. Either way, the reader understands that I disown the authority of that Version as in any degree affecting

myself. The word which, forty years ago, moved my disgust by its servile misinterpretation, was a word proper to the *New Testament*; and any sense which it may have received from an Alexandrian Jew in the third century before Christ, is no more relevant to any criticism that I am now going to suggest, than is the classical use of the word *aeon* (αἰών) familiar to the learned in Sophocles or Euripides.

The reason which gives to this word *aeonian* what I do not scruple to call a *dreadful* importance, is the same reason, and no other, which prompted the dishonesty concerned in the ordinary interpretation of this word. The word happened to connect itself—but *that* was no practical concern of mine; me it had not biassed in the one direction, nor should it have biassed any just critic in the counter-direction—happened, I say, to connect itself with the ancient dispute upon the *duration* of future punishments. What was meant by the *aeonian* punishments in the next world? Was the proper sense of the word *eternal*, or was it not? I, for my part, meddled not, nor upon any consideration could have been tempted to meddle, with a speculation repellent alike by the horror and by the hopeless mystery which invest it. Secrets of the prison-house, so afflicting to contemplate steadily, and so hopeless of solution, there could be no proper motive for investigating, unless the investigation promised a great deal more than it could ever accomplish; and my own feeling as to all such problems is that they vulgarize what, left to itself, would take its natural station amongst the freezing horrors that Shakespeare dismisses with so potent an expression of awe in a well-known scene of “Measure for Measure.” I reiterate

my protest against being in any way decoyed into the controversy. Perhaps I may have a strong opinion upon the subject. But, anticipating the coarse discussions into which the slightest entertainment of such a question would be every moment approaching, once for all, out of reverential regard for the dignity of human nature, I beg permission to decline the controversy altogether.

But does this declinature involve any countenance to a certain argument which I began by rejecting as abominable? Most certainly not. That argument runs thus—that the ordinary construction of the term *aeonian*, as equivalent to *everlasting*, could not possibly be given up when associated with penal misery, because in that case, and by the very same act, the idea of eternity must be abandoned as applicable to the counter-bliss of Paradise. Torment and blessedness, it was argued, punishment and beatification, stood upon the same level; the same word it was, the word *aeonian*, which qualified the duration of either; and if eternity in the most rigorous acceptance fell away from the one idea, it must equally fall away from the other. Well, be it so. But that would not settle the question. It might be very painful to renounce a long-cherished anticipation; but the necessity of doing so could not be received as a sufficient reason for adhering to the old unconditional use of the word *aeonian*. The argument is, that we must retain the old sense of *eternal*, because else we lose upon one scale what we had gained upon the other. But what then? would be the reasonable man's retort. We are not to accept or to reject a new construction (if otherwise the more colourable) of the word *aeonian*, simply

because the consequences might seem such as upon the whole to displease us. We may gain nothing, for by the new interpretation our loss may balance our gain; and we may prefer the old arrangement. But how monstrous is all this! We are not summoned as to a choice of two different arrangements that may suit different tastes, but to a grave question as to what is the sense and operation of the word *aeonian*. Let the limitation of the word disturb our previous estimate of Paradise, grant that it so disturbs that estimate, not the less all such consequences leave the dispute exactly where it was; and if a balance of reason can be found for limiting the extent of the word *aeonian*, it will not be the less true because it may happen to disturb a crotchet of our own.

Mean time, all this speculation, first and last, is pure nonsense. *Aeonian* does not mean *eternal*; neither does it mean of limited duration; nor would the unsettling of *aeonian* in its old use, as applied to punishment, to torment, to misery, &c., carry with it any necessary unsettling of the idea in its application to the beatitudes of Paradise. Pause, reader; and thou, my favoured and privileged reader, that boastest thyself to be unlearned, pause doubly whilst I communicate my views as to this remarkable word.

What is an *aeon*? In the use and acceptance of the Apocalypse, it is evidently this, viz., the duration or cycle of existence which belongs to any object, not individually for itself, but universally in right of its genus. Kant, for instance, in a little paper which I once translated, proposed and debated the question as to the age of our planet the Earth. What did he mean? Was he to be understood as asking whether

the Earth were half a million, two millions, or three millions of years old? Not at all. The probabilities certainly lean, one and all, to the assignment of an antiquity greater by many thousands of times than that which we have most idly supposed ourselves to extract from Scripture, which assuredly never meant to approach a question so profoundly irrelevant to the great purposes of Scripture as any geological speculation whatsoever. But this was not within the field of Kant's inquiry. What he wished to know was simply the exact stage in the whole course of her development which the Earth at present occupies. Is she still in her infancy, for example, or in a stage corresponding to middle age, or in a stage approaching to superannuation? The idea of Kant presupposed a certain average duration as belonging to a planet of our particular system; and supposing this known, or discoverable, and that a certain assignable development belonged to a planet so circumstanced as ours, then in what particular stage of that development may we, the tenants of this respectable little planet *Tellus*, reasonably be conceived to stand?

Man, again, has a certain *aeonian* life; possibly ranging somewhere about the period of seventy years assigned in the Psalms. That is, in a state as highly improved as human infirmity and the errors of the Earth herself, together with the diseases incident to our atmosphere, &c., could be supposed to allow, possibly the human race might average seventy years for each individual. This period would in that case represent the "*aeon*" of the *individual* Tellurian; but the "*aeon*" of the Tellurian RACE would probably amount to many millions of our earthly years; and it.

would remain an unfathomable mystery, deriving no light at all from the septuagenarian "aeon" of the individual; though between the two aeons I have no doubt that some secret link of connection does and must subsist, however undiscoverable by human sagacity.

The crow, the deer, the eagle, &c., are all supposed to be long-lived. Some people have fancied that in their normal state they tended to a period of two¹ centuries. I myself know nothing certain for or against this belief; but, supposing the case to be as it is represented, then this would be the *aeonian* period of these animals, considered as individuals. Among trees, in like manner, the oak, the cedar, the yew, are notoriously of very slow growth, and their *aeonian* period is unusually long as regards the individual. What may be the *aeon* of the whole species is utterly unknown. Amongst birds, one species at least has become extinct in our own generation: its *aeon* was accomplished. So of all the fossil species in zoology, which palæontology has revealed. Nothing, in short, throughout universal nature, can for a moment be conceived to have been resigned to accident for its normal *aeon*. All periods and dates of this order belong to the certainties of nature, but also, at the same time, to the mysteries of Providence. Through-

¹ I have heard the same normal duration ascribed to the tortoise, and one case became imperfectly known to myself personally. Somewhere I may have mentioned the case in print. These, at any rate, are the facts of the case. A lady (by birth a Cowper, of the Whig family, and cousin to the poet Cowper, and, equally with him, related to Dr. Madan, bishop of Peterborough), in the early part of this century, mentioned to me that, in the palace at Peterborough, she had for years known as a pet of the household a venerable tortoise, who bore some inscription on his shell indicating that, from 1638 to 1643 he had belonged to Archbishop Laud, who (if I am not mistaken) held the bishopric of Peterborough before he was translated to London, and finally to Canterbury.

out the Prophets we are uniformly taught that nothing is more below the grandeur of Heaven than to assign earthly dates in fixing either the revolutions or the duration of great events such as prophecy would condescend to notice. A day has a prophetic meaning, but what sort of day? A mysterious expression for a time which has no resemblance to a natural day—sometimes comprehending long successions of centuries, and altering its meaning according to the object concerned. “A time,” and “times,” or “half a time”—“an aeon,” or “aeons of aeons”—and other variations of this prophetic language (so full of dreadful meaning, but also of doubt and perplexity), are all significant. The peculiar grandeur of such expressions lies partly in the dimness of the approximation to any attempt at settling their limits, and still more in this, that the conventional character, and consequent meanness of ordinary human dates, are abandoned in the celestial chronologies. Hours and days, or lunations and months, have no true or philosophic relation to the origin, or duration, or periods of return belonging to great events, or revolutionary agencies, or vast national crimes; but the normal period and duration of all acts whatever, the time of their emergence, of their agency, or their re-agency, fall into harmony with the secret proportions of a heavenly scale, when they belong by mere necessity of their own internal constitution to the vital though hidden motions that are at work in their own life and manifestation. Under the old and ordinary view of the apocalyptic *aeon*, which supposed it always to mean the same period of time—mysterious, indeed, and uncertain, as regards *our* knowledge, but fixed and rigorously certain in the secret counsels

of God—it was presumed that this period, if it lost its character of infinity when applied to evil, to criminality, or to punishment, must lose it by a corresponding necessity equally when applied to happiness and the golden aspects of hope. But, on the contrary, every object whatsoever, every mode of existence, has its own separate and independent *aeon*. The most thoughtless person must be satisfied, on reflection, even apart from the express commentary upon this idea furnished by the Apocalypse, that every life and mode of being must have hidden within itself the secret *why* of its duration. It is impossible to believe of *any* duration whatever that it is determined capriciously. Always it rests upon some ground, ancient as light and darkness, though undiscoverable by man. This only is discoverable, as a general tendency, that the *aeon*, or generic period of evil, is constantly towards a fugitive duration. The *aeon*, it is alleged, must always express the same idea, whatever *that* may be: if it is less than eternity for the evil cases, then it must be less for the good ones. Doubtless the idea of an *aeon* is in one sense always uniform, always the same, viz., as a tenth or a twelfth is always the same. Arithmetic could not exist if any caprice or variation affected these ideas—a tenth is always more than an eleventh, always less than a ninth. But this uniformity of ratio and proportion does not hinder but that a tenth may now represent a guinea, and next moment represent a thousand guineas. The exact amount of the duration expressed by an *aeon* depends altogether upon the particular subject which yields the *aeon*. It is, as I have said, a radix; and, like an algebraic square-root or cube-root, though governed by the most rigorous

laws of limitation, it must vary in obedience to the nature of the particular subject whose radix it forms.

Reader, I take my leave. I have been too loitering. I know it, and will make such efforts in future to cultivate the sternest brevity as nervous distress will allow. Mean time, as the upshot of my speculation, accept these three propositions :—

a. That man (which is in effect *every* man hitherto) who allows himself to infer the eternity of evil from the counter eternity of good, builds upon the mistake of assigning a stationary and mechanic value to the idea of an *aeon* ; whereas the very purpose of Scripture in using this word was to evade such a value. The word is always varying, for the very purpose of keeping it faithful to a spiritual identity. The period or duration of every object *would* be an essentially variable quantity, were it not mysteriously commensurate to the inner nature of that object as laid open to the eyes of God. And thus it happens, that everything in this world, possibly without a solitary exception, has its own separate *aeon* : how many entities, so many *aeons*.

b. But if it be an excess of blindness which can overlook the *aeonian* differences amongst even neutral entities, much deeper is that blindness which overlooks the separate tendencies of things evil and things good. Naturally, all evil is fugitive and allied to death.

c. I separately, speaking for myself only, profoundly believe that the Scriptures ascribe absolute and metaphysical eternity to one sole Being, viz., to God ; and derivatively to all others according to the interest which they can plead in God's favour. Having

anchorage in God, innumerable entities may possibly be admitted to a participation in the Divine aeon. But what interest in the favour of God can belong to falsehood, to malignity, to impurity? To invest *them* with aeonian privileges, is in effect, and by its results, to distrust and to insult the Deity. Evil would *not* be evil, if it had that power of self-subsistence which is imputed to it in supposing its aeonian life to be co-eternal with that which crowns and glorifies the good.

ST. ANDREW.

COMMENTATORS have often pointed out¹ that, in all the lists² of the Twelve Apostles given in the New Testament, they are divided into three groups of four each; and that each of these groups has some common, notable, and distinguishing characteristic. In the first group, or quaternion, we have the natural leaders, the born princes and rulers of the Apostolic Company; the men of largest make, and most conspicuous gifts, and most fervent devotion; men capable of guiding and inspiring their associates—Peter and Andrew, James and John, the sons of Jona and the sons of Zebedee. In the second group we have four reflective and naturally sceptical men, men who must see before they can believe, men who require proof, and at times both require too much proof and are a little hopeless of getting it—Philip and Thomas, Nathanael and Matthew. In the last group we have men of a practical and business turn, the ministers, managers, servants of the Company, men with a keen eye for seeing “where a nail

¹ Cf. THE EXPOSITOR, vol. i. pp. 29 *et seq.*

² St. Matt. x. 2-4; St. Mark iii. 16-19; S. Luke vi. 14-16; Acts i. 13.

will go," and a faculty for driving it home—James the bishop, Jude the Hearty, Simon the Zealot, and Iscariot the market-man and treasurer.

Such a division of "the glorious company" into likeminded groups was natural and inevitable. Take any twelve men you please, set them to some great enterprize which will task and occupy their best energies, and it will not be long before they begin to associate and group themselves according to their several affinities, this man drawing to that by a law of natural selection, each finding his co-mate or co-efficient for himself; nor will it be long before the more bold and adventurous spirits among them, the men of clearest insight and heaviest weight, the most original and enthusiastic, come to the front and take the lead. It is not improbable even that, in any such company, the very three characteristic groups of the Apostolic Company will reappear. Besides the men who originate and lead the movement, who attract and inspire and command, there will be the men who think and write, who, having themselves been convinced by argument and proof, find arguments for the cause; the men who bring it to the test of reason and experience and common sense, who record the progress of the movement and vindicate it against all gainsayers. And to these there will almost inevitably be added the practical men of a business turn who work out the plans of the leaders to their minutest details, who collect and administer the funds of the movement, who are quick to see opportunities and to seize on them, who know how to take advantage of every turn of events, every change in public opinion, and to save their more thoughtful and reflective companions from being either

too timid or too rash. Such a grouping of the associates in any public enterprize is natural, common, reasonable; and therefore we need not be surprized to find these three groups in the Company of the Apostles, but should rather look for them and expect them.

Andrew was of the first group. In all the lists he is named with Peter and James and John. And, as I have said, this first group was composed of men whose capacity and force of character qualified them to lead the rest; men of larger natural make, more bold, adventurous, original, of a more heroic stamp, a more fervent and intense faith, a more passionate devotion; men who went by intuition rather than by reflection, men of a sublime enthusiasm rather than practical men of affairs. But when we have placed a man in his proper group, and have noted the characteristics of that group, we have by no means done with him, by no means explained and accounted for him. There is still much in him which we need to study, and which will probably yield us valuable instruction. In addition to the qualities he has in common with others, there are qualities peculiar to himself; and it is these which are the true *differentiæ*, the individualizing and specially instructive characteristics of the man. When we have got him into his true class, therefore, our next question is—What place does he hold in that class? and for what reason does he hold it?

We know too little of most of the Apostles to carry our analysis of them very far, to determine with much exactness what they were like individually. Probably we know at least half a dozen of them better than we know Andrew, or have at least formed more definite

conceptions of them—Peter, John, and James, for example, and Philip, Thomas, Matthew, and Iscariot. But there is one fact in the history of St. Andrew which is very striking when once we take note of it; very pathetic, I think, when we reflect on it. He is always reckoned in the first group of the Apostles; and that *after* the death of Christ¹ as well as before, and yet he does not always, nor commonly, stand in the front rank. Of the first four only *three* were admitted to the innermost circle of our Lord's confidence and affection. When He raised the Ruler's little daughter from the dead; when He talked with Moses and Elias on the Mount, and his essential glory shone through the accidents of his human form; when He endured the bitter agony of Gethsemane which strengthened Him for the passion of the Cross, only Peter and James and John were with him, not Andrew. And on these notable and eventful occasions, the innermost Three are spoken of in a tone which leaves the impression on our mind, and has left it on the mind of Christendom, that our Lord habitually chose them to be with Him in the highest moment of his power and glory or in the most sacred moments of his anguish. Where was Andrew then? and why was *he* left out?

Andrew was probably the very first disciple whom Jesus drew to Himself. He was certainly one of the first two.² It was he who first found his own brother Simon, and brought him to Jesus, just as it was John who brought his brother James. He is never excluded from the first group, never bidden to take a lower place, never classed with Philip and Thomas, for instance. And yet he is quietly dropped out from the

¹ Acts i. 13.

² St. John i. 35-41.

company of his natural and admitted associates whenever there is to be a special manifestation of the Divine Glory or Love. Why? Was there something lacking in the man after all, so that, while he was worthy to rank in the first four of our Lord's disciples and friends, he was not worthy of the special intimacy vouchsafed to the first three, with whom he is nevertheless constantly grouped, as though he stood, and was worthy to stand, on the same level with them?

This, naturally, is our first impression—that, able and gifted and honoured as he was, he must have lacked some quality of greatness which the other three possessed, some quality which fitted them for an honour he was not able to sustain; and this, for aught I know to the contrary, may be the true impression. There is much to suggest and confirm it. For we know our Lord too well to believe that He withholds from any man any gift which he is able to use for his own welfare or the welfare of others, any manifestation of love or power which he is capable of turning to good account. If, therefore, Andrew was excluded from the most intimate circle of fellowship with Christ, we can only conclude that he was *self*-excluded; that there was some defect, some “little rift,” in his character, which unfitted him for that grace.

And, possibly, this defect may have been that he was of a spirit less open and quick, less bold and adventurous, than the other three—as it must have been that he was in some way a lesser man. For, after he became a disciple, we never find him taking the lead in anything. Little is recorded of him, indeed; but what little there is is not of the same quality as that recorded of Peter and John, and even of James. He

does not take the initiative as they do, and, significantly enough, on the only two occasions on which he speaks he is more or less coupled with Philip; Philip being, as I have said, the leader of the reflective and sceptical group, of the men who must see, and think, and ask questions, before they can believe. On the first of these occasions we may even detect in his words an echo of their characteristic tone. When our Lord was about to multiply the loaves and fishes, seeing, I suppose, that Philip was calculating how much it would cost to feed that great multitude—and perhaps seeing also that Philip was discussing his calculation with Andrew—He asks him, “Where shall we buy food, that these may eat?” By the very promptitude of his reply Philip shews that he *had* been counting up the cost, and has arrived at the conclusion that “two hundred pence”¹ will hardly do it. Then, as if the two had been speculating on ways and means, Andrew² strikes in with the suggestion, “Here is a lad who has five barley loaves and two small fishes.” And, no doubt, both the loaves and the fishes looked even smaller than they were to Andrew; for, in the very tone of Philip and his group, he asks, sceptically and despairingly, “*But what are these among so many?*” Yet he had seen water made into wine, and the wins multiplied till it met all needs, at Cana of Galilee, and should not therefore have distrusted the power of the grace of Christ.

On the second occasion it is the reflective, rather than the sceptical, tone of Philip which appears in Andrew. As our Lord was passing through the Court of the Gentiles on his way from the Temple, certain

¹ About £7 of our money.

² St. John vi. 8, 9.

Greeks—Greeks, and yet no doubt proselytes, or they would not have been in the Temple—intimated their wish to *see, i. e.,* to speak with Him.¹ Only on the previous day Jesus had cleared this Court of the Gentiles from the traffic and merchandize by which it was transformed into “a den of thieves,” and had declared the Temple to be “a house of prayer *for all nations.*” It was not unnatural, therefore, that certain Greeks should desire to know something more of the Jewish Rabbi who affirmed that the Temple was meant *for them*, and not only for the Jews. They mention their wish to Philip, Philip mentions it to Andrew; and, again, “Andrew and Philip tell Jesus.”

In this brief record we have to note (1) that Andrew and Philip were the only two Apostles whose common names were Greek;² and that it was therefore very natural that the Greeks should apply to them, or to one of them, for an introduction to Jesus, as they might well suppose that men with Greek names would be, if not Greeks themselves, at least friendly to the Greeks. (2) That the sacred historian is careful not to name Philip simply, but to describe him as “Philip, *who was of Bethsaida of Galilee,*” for Galilee was a half-heathenized province, and there were many Gentiles in Bethsaida; so that these Greeks may have come from Bethsaida, or from some of the Greek cities of the neighbouring Decapolis, and may have felt that they had the claim of neighbours on Philip. But Andrew was also of Bethsaida, and bare a Greek name; so that when Philip brought the Greeks to *him*, they may have felt no less at home with him than with Philip.

¹ St. John xii. 20–22.

² Thomas was also called *Didymus*, but not commonly.

(3) That Philip *does* bring them to Andrew, as if he felt that Andrew stood nearer to Jesus than himself, was in a more intimate fellowship with Him, and would be likely to know more of his mind and of what would be acceptable to Him. So that here we have the very leader of the second group of Apostles paying a certain deference to the last and least favoured in the first group. (4) That, in all probability, both Andrew and Philip had reflected more on the universalism of the Old Testament than some other of the Apostles, since they do not scruple to bring even Greeks to their Master; and so were more ready to catch the universal tone in his own teaching, and to believe that He was the Saviour of all men, and not only the Redeemer of the Jews.

From all which we may gather that, if Andrew was less favoured than Peter and John and James, if he did not belong to the first three, he was indubitably recognized as belonging to the first *four*. And, perhaps, we may also infer that what kept him from ranking with the first three was that he was of a slower, a more reflective and doubtful, temperament than they were; that, though a leader in the Apostolic Company, he was less of a leader—less bold, less original, less adventurous—than the other men of the group to which he belonged.

Two other indications of his character and position may be found in the Gospels which confirm this view of him. On the one hand it is a singular fact, and surely denotes a certain qualified inferiority, that he is commonly called not Andrew simply, but Andrew, "*Simon Peter's brother*." I confess I have sometimes felt it was a little hard on him that even from the first,

before Peter had risen to his primacy among the Apostles, Andrew should be thus described ; that even when we are told of the very first two men who left the Baptist to follow Jesus,¹ it should be said, "One of the two who followed him was Andrew, *Simon Peter's brother*," although at that time Peter did not know that the Messiah had come. For we know what is implied when a man is commonly described as So-and-So's son, or brother, or father, or husband. As a rule that mode of designation indicates not only that the person of whom it is used is less known, but that he is also less worthy to be known ; that he is of a character less conspicuous and remarkable than the other to whom he is, as it were, appended. And though we should wrong Andrew were we to consider him as simply an appendage to Simon Peter, yet we can hardly escape the conclusion that there was in some sense *less of him*, or *less in him*, than there was in his brother, though what there was may have been of the same fine quality.

That he *was* a man of fine quality and stamp is proved by the fact that he is placed and kept in the first group, among the Apostolic leaders. From that place he never fell. And, indeed, St. Mark tells us of an incident that occurred in the very last week of our Lord's ministry, which shews conclusively that to the end Andrew was singled out for a special, though not for the most special, intimacy and favour.² When our Lord sat on Olivet, over against the Temple, and spoke to his disciples of the time when the Temple should be destroyed and the Jews be scattered to the ends of the earth, we read that it was "Peter and James and John *and Andrew*" who asked Him privately, "When shall

¹ St. John i. 40.

² St. Mark xiii. 3.

these things be?" This is the only occasion on which, except in mere lists of names, Andrew is associated with the first three; but he *is* associated with them here, as one who was admitted to a closer privacy with Christ than others: so that even to the end he kept his place, although he was not always *in* his place, and does not give so many signs as his immediate associates of an original and ruling mind.

It may be thought that we hear little more of James than of Andrew, that John's brother occupies a no more conspicuous place than Peter's brother. But that is not so. James is *always* associated with Peter and John when our Lord is about to make any special manifestation of his glory or of his grace, whereas Andrew is not. And, moreover, whenever James appears in word or action, he shews a specially bold, forward, adventurous nature. No second place would have contented *him*. Once, with John, he wants to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritans who would not receive Christ.¹ Once, he begs that he and John may sit, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side, of Christ when He ascends the throne of his glory.² And when, in after years, Herod Agrippa began to bestir himself against the Church, the very first man he laid hold of was this "son of thunder," whom he "killed with the sword"³—fastening on *him* even before he arrested Peter, and fastening on him, possibly, as at that time, and in some ways, the more bold and prominent of the two.

No, St. Andrew stands by himself. He, and he alone, takes the pathetic attitude of one who is *in* the first group, and yet not altogether of one who is not of it in

¹ St. Luke ix. 54.

St. Mark x. 35-37.

³ Acts xii. 2.

the same full sense as the other three, and therefore not admitted either to the Mount of Transfiguration or to the Garden of Gethsemane, not witnessing either the highest glory or the profoundest grief of the Master and Friend whom nevertheless he loved so well. And the reason of the attitude is as pathetic as the attitude itself, if it be, as I suppose it was, that he was of a less prompt, active, adventurous temperament than his associates; more reflective, more disposed to ask questions and raise doubts and look on both sides the shield: in short, a man with a touch of Hamlet in his blood.

Such men are common enough, and wear many forms. Most of us, I suppose, have known men of the highest powers who somehow have not risen to the highest place, who were passed again and again by men of far inferior faculties and gifts to themselves. And we can hardly read the biography or letters of any admittedly great man without finding that *he* knew of some man far greater than himself—more learned, or more wise, or more original—of larger capacities and loftier nature and wider scope. Yet *these* were men of whom the world never heard; they made no public or no conspicuous mark, although pronounced greater by those whom the world esteemed its greatest. Sometimes, no doubt, these men of the *first*, but not of the *front*, rank do not take their due place through diffidence, awkwardness, self-distrust, dislike of the world and the world's ways, contempt of the petty aims which most men pursue, or of the petty and sordid means by which even great public aims are often reached. At other times they are disabled by some fatal stroke early received, some irreparable loss, some deep wound to the

heart occasioned by the injustice and fickleness of the world, or by the faithlessness of a trusted friend, or even by their own waywardness, or rashness, or the insolence of conscious but unacknowledged strength.

But there are also men, not disabled by any crippling wound, not averse to distinction if it may be fairly won, who seem to possess all the faculties and gifts and accomplishments which mark men out for distinction, and yet do not reach the distinction to which we feel that they are entitled. Every one speaks well of them, every one holds them in affection and respect ; and not a few set great hopes on them, and believe that they must win honour and renown. It is not easy to see why such men fail. Their failure, or comparative failure, is often a surprise to their friends and to themselves, to the very end. Nevertheless, if we look closely at them, we may find that some of them are too much abstracted from the common affairs and aims of life to make a deep impression on their fellows ; too remote, if not "too bright and good, for human nature's daily food." Capital men to be with on Sundays and holidays, you want another for workday use. They are too much in the air, too much in the clouds even. They inspire respect and affection for their purity and unworldliness, but they do not inspire the passionate devotion which waits on a born leader of men. They are neither prompt to seize occasion, nor to turn their fine gifts to the best account. They lack the ardent and victorious will which beats down, or overleaps, all opposition ; or they lack the steadfast and cheerful patience which saps opposition or converts it into power. Or they are not themselves quick to take and spread the contagion of high and generous and self-devoting

impulses. Or they are men of slow growth, worth much when they are ripe, but taking so long to ripen, that by the time they gain their full sweetness and strength of spirit, their eye begins to grow dim and their natural force is abated. Or, like Andrew, they are men of thought rather than men of action; they see all round things, or try to see all round them, and so are often passed by men who see only one side of a question and go straight at it. Or, still like Andrew, they are a little sceptical and hopeless, and stand weighing possibilities and difficulties, till the time for action has gone by.

Whatever the causes which lead or contribute to their failure, such men as these get but scant justice from a world which does not mean to be unjust, but is much too busy to make an elaborate study of them, much too preoccupied to discover and rate them at their true value. There is the more need, therefore, that Christ, the true and final Judge of men, should recognize their hidden worth, and teach us to recognize and honour it. And He who knows what is in man *does* recognize their worth. He ranks them, as we see in the case of Andrew, among the very first in his service and kingdom, even though they have not all the qualities desirable in the first, because the qualities they have are so precious. He gives them, as He gave Andrew, all that they can take, calls them only to such duties as they can do, and sees that they get their full honour and reward, both here and hereafter. Yes, even *here*: for there are wonderful compensations and joys in a quiet and thoughtful life; and, moreover, such a life is often, in the end, more fruitful in influence, and even in activity of the highest kind, than that of

many a practical and successful man. Men of action, who stand full in the eye of the world, commonly derive their stimulus and guidance from men of thought, of whom the world seldom hears. And when we pass out of this world into the larger and more equitable world beyond, there are many of these last who will there be first, and shine as stars, and stars of the first magnitude, in the spiritual firmament for ever.

S. E. C. T.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

IV.—THE SECOND COLLOQUY. (CHAPTERS XV.—XXI.)

5.—ZOPHAR TO JOB. (CHAPTER XX.)

WHEN Zophar first appeared on the scene I described him as "the common good man of his day, the vulgar but sincere formalist; the man who implicitly believes what he has been taught, and demands not only that every one else should believe it too, but also that they should accept it in the very forms in which it has commended itself to him, and, above all, that they should refuse to believe anything *more*. He is sharp and bitter and hasty in his tone, moreover. . . . A dangerous man to differ from or to outstrip; the kind of man with whom it is of no use to go a mile if you go but a single inch beyond him; the kind of man, too, who is very apt to call down fire from heaven whenever he cannot conveniently lay his hand on the match-box." And again, when he first opened his lips, I described him as the champion of orthodoxy. "A man without culture or erudition, he stands for and utters the common thought, the current conceptions and formulas, of his time, and savours of bigotry, as self-styled ortho-

doxy is wont to do. He catches up the opinions in vogue, and delivers them as *his* opinions with a tone of authority. He cannot quote oracles like Eliphaz ; but, nevertheless, there is a touch of ' Sir Oracle ' about him, and when he ' opes his mouth ' no dog must bark dissent. With singular fidelity to nature, this comparatively unlearned and unspiritual champion of accepted traditions is depicted as harsh, authoritative, sudden and loud in censure. He is ' hasty and tinder-like upon too trivial motion.' ' A very little thief of occasion robs him of a great deal of patience.' "

If this description of him seems overcharged, tinged with colours of dislike for the type of man he represents, now that Zophar makes his last appearance before us we shall have an opportunity of putting it to a decisive test by comparing with it the man himself. We shall see him acting and speaking after his kind, and be able to determine for ourselves what that kind is.

To the capable eye there is in the present condition of every man an index both to his past and to his future ; from what we find him to be we may, if we are wise enough, infer both what he has been and what he will be.

There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased ;
The which observed, a man may prophesy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life.

On this principle all three of the Friends have acted ; from his present miserable conditions they have both figured to themselves that, in times gone by, Job's life must have been an evil and a wicked one, and pre-

dicted that sooner or later it must provoke its appropriate punishment, that his "main chance as yet not come" was a very ominous one. In Chapter xviii., for instance, Bildad, seeing Job to be enmeshed in a net of calamity, had inferred that he had been thrust into it by his own sins, and that he could only be released from it by the punitive stroke of Death. And now Zophar pursues a similar course, but pursues it with a heat and virulence all his own. Bildad had said, "The wicked cannot always prosper—must at last come to a disastrous and shameful end." "Yes," adds Zophar, "but the prosperity of the wicked is *only for a moment*, and the destruction which comes on him is *swift, sudden, overwhelming*." So that *he* touches Job closer home; for Job was still in the prime of his days, and the strokes by which he was being destroyed were, indeed, most sudden, unexpected, and severe. All the Friends take Job for a sinner; but Zophar takes him, first, for an epicure in sin (Verses 12 and 13), and then for an open, violent, and rapacious offender against the laws of man no less than against the laws of God (Verses 19–21); and declares that the terrible and ignominious end of all his greatness was simply the natural and inevitable outcome of his heinous and notorious crimes. Having to deal with a heretic, or at least a sceptic, *i.e.*, with one who declined to subscribe his creed, he at once pronounces him a sinner above all men, and, as men of his type are apt to do, betakes himself to denunciation. He holds any divergence from his "views" to be a personal insult, and mistakes the passionate resentment of wounded vanity for the inspiration of religious zeal. According to him, not only had Job sinned, but, deeming retribution to be of halting and

uncertain foot, he had thought to sin with impunity—thought himself so “far before” his sins that even “the swiftest wing of recompense” would fail to overtake him. But he had deceived himself; the wing of recompense had already overtaken him and struck him down. There was no escape for him. He had lost much already; he would soon lose all. The fire which had already kindled upon him, and had burned up well-nigh all that he possessed, would wholly devour him and consume whatever was still left in his tent (Verse 26), without so much as needing to be “blown,” to be fanned and stimulated to its utmost fierceness.

And all this is conveyed in words and figures coarser and more vindictive than we find anywhere else in the Poem. Not only does Zophar speak his mind “with frank and with uncurbed plainness,” he speaks it like one

whose bosom burns
With an incensed fire of injuries.

Although he is “furnished with no certainties,” although he proceeds wholly on the most questionable inferences and deductions, he treats Job with a “jeering and disdainful contempt;” he seems to exult in the doom he denounces on him. Perhaps the most pitiless and venomous stroke in his oration is his attempt to crush down Job's rising trust in the God who has so causelessly and profoundly afflicted him. Inspired by this trust, Job had appealed to Heaven, or rather to One in heaven, to bear witness to his innocence; and (in Verse 27) Zophar retorts that “the heavens will reveal,” not his innocence, but his “iniquity.” He had invoked earth as well as heaven to attest his innocence, by re-

fusing to cover his blood ; and Zophar mocks at his appeal, assuring him that the very "earth will rise up against him," to condemn him.

Nothing could be more cruel, nothing more malignant even, had Zophar but seen what he was doing. But, probably, he was far from seeing all that he was doing—did not realize that he was aiming at the very faith in God which God Himself was evoking in the heart of Job, though he surely must have felt that he was shutting on him the only door of hope. Except, indeed, for his scarcely veiled censure on Job, we must admit that his argument, though it "suited not in native colours with the truth" throughout, has a certain colour and measure of truth in it, and that the very intensity of the passion which breathes and burns in it gives it a certain eloquence and power. That every sin contains the seed of its own punishment, is true ; but it is not true that every such seed matures and ripens within the limits of time. That some insolent and greedy sinners are suddenly overtaken by judgment, is true ; but that all such offenders see their sins running before to judgment, is not true. While the latent charge and implication of the whole speech, that *Job* was a sinner, so in love with sin that he could not be persuaded to let it go ; that *he* was a man of an unbounded stomach, from whose greedy cravings nothing was safe, and that therefore his good fortune had not endured, were so plainly and monstrosly untrue, that if Zophar's nature had not been warped by theological preconceptions, and inflamed with the heat of an affronted egotism, it was simply impossible that even he should have entertained the suspicion for a moment.

CHAPTER XX.

1. *Then answered Zophar the Naamathite and said :*
2. *Nevertheless my thoughts urge me to answer,*
 And the impulse that stirreth in me.
3. *I have heard a chiding to my shame,*
 But out of my understanding my spirit yieldeth me a reply
4. *Knowest thou not this, that, from of old,*
 Since man was placed upon the earth,
5. *The triumph of the wicked is brief,*
 And the joy of the impious but for a moment ?
6. *Though he lift himself up to the heavens,*
 And his head sweep the clouds,
7. *Yet shall he perish for ever like his own ordure :*
 They that saw him shall say, " Where is he ? "
8. *Like a dream shall he flit away and not be found,*
 He shall be chased away like a vision of the night ;
9. *The eye that saw him shall see him no more,*
 Neither shall his place any more behold him :
10. *His children shall court the poor,*
 And his own hands shall restore their substance.
11. *Though his bones are full of his youth,*
 It shall lie down with him in the dust.
12. *Though wickedness be sweet in his mouth,*
 So that he retain it under his tongue,
13. *So that he spareth it, yet will not leave it,*
 But holdeth it still in his mouth,
14. *Nevertheless his food is changed in his stomach,*
 It is gall of asps within him ;
15. *He swallowed down riches, and shall disgorge them*
 God will drive them out of his belly :
16. *He sucked the poison of asps,*
 The viper's tongue shall slay him.
17. *He shall not see the brooks,*
 The rivers, the torrents, of honey and cream ;
18. *That for which he toiled he shall restore and not consume,*
 Though large be his gain, he shall not have joy in it.
19. *Because he ground down and abandoned the poor,*
 Seized a house which he did not build,—
20. *Because his cravings knew no bounds,*
 With none of his delights shall he escape ;

21. *Nothing was safe from his greed,
Therefore his good fortune shall not endure :*
22. *In the fulness of his abundance shall he be straitened ;
Trouble of every kind shall come upon him.*
23. *Let there be food to fill his belly,—
God shall cast on him the glow of his wrath,
And shall rain it upon him while he is feasting.*
24. *If he flee from a weapon of iron,
A bow of brass shall transfix him ;*
25. *If one draw it out, and it cometh forth from his body,
And the gleaming point from his gall,
[New] terrors shall be upon him.*
26. *All darkness is hoarded in his treasures ;
A fire, not blown, shall devour him,
And feed on what is left in his tent :*
27. *The heavens shall reveal his iniquity,
And the earth rise up against him ;*
28. *The increase of his house shall depart,
Flowing away in the day of his anger.*
29. *This is the portion of the wicked from God,
And this the heritage ordained him of the Lord.*

Verses 2 and 3.—Zophar's opening words are not very clear. He is evidently, and confessedly, agitated and perturbed ; and for this reason. In the First Colloquy (Chap. xi. 6) he had warned Job that he was so great a sinner, that even his great misery was not an adequate punishment of his guilt. He had urged him to confess and renounce his sin, promising him that so soon as he could lift up a face without spot to God his misery would give way to all prosperous and happy conditions. And how has "Sir Oracle" been met? Instead of gratefully accepting his warning and invitation, and acting on them ; instead of saying—

My voice shall sound as you do prompt mine ear,
And I will stoop and humble my intents
To your well-practised wise directions,

Job has actually rejected his counsel, refuted the hypothesis upon which it was based, asserted and reasserted that he needed no repentance, and even appealed with apparent sincerity and confidence from Zophar's verdict to the judgment and sentence of God! How could any man, or any such man as Zophar, with the whole weight of orthodox opinion at his back, stand *that*? It was impossible that he should sit silent while the most ancient and approved conclusions were being so wickedly called in question. It was still more impossible that he should hold his peace when opinions which *he* had espoused were mercilessly refuted, and counsels which *he* had deigned to offer were flung back into his face. He *must* speak, though he hardly knows what to say. Nay, to his own amazement, he finds that he has nothing of any real moment to say; and therefore he very naturally proceeds to abuse his adversary. Before, he had besought Job to repent; but now he finds in him

such black and grained spots
As will not leave their tinct,

let him repent as he may. With an insolence almost incredible to Zophar, Job had even threatened *him*, the very pink and pattern of orthodoxy, with the sword and judgment of God (Chap. xix. 29). It was intolerable. Job must be silenced; but how? That was not so easy to determine. And so, in an excited yet pompous way, hiding the poverty of his invention under a cloak of big words, and yet revealing his consciousness of wounded vanity and outraged piety in the very words behind which he would fain conceal it, he begins.

Nevertheless, despite all you have said, and said with such intolerable confidence and presumption, *my*

thoughts—the word for “thoughts” is a peculiar one, used only here and in Chapter iv. Verse 13, and means “doubtful, perplexed, agitated thoughts”—*urge me to answer*. The whole line implies that there was a tempest in his soul, that he was driven to and fro by contending impulses which he could not control, and hardly knew for what point to steer. And this impression of blind, hasty, undirected force is strengthened by the words that follow, in which he confesses that a violent “impulse” is at work within him.

In the next Verse he adds new strokes to this unconscious delineation of the trouble and agitation of his spirit. *I have heard a chiding to my shame ; i.e.,* “I know very well what the aim of the check and counter-check of your last words was. You intended that threatening of judgment for *me*. You meant to put me to shame. But you did not, and cannot, put me to shame, nor even put me to silence. In my “understanding” there is an immense store of arguments, if only I could get at them ; and “out of” this store “my spirit” will select that which I deem most pertinent and conclusive. If I am for a moment embarrassed, and know not what to say, it is simply my wealth of replies which embarrasses me.

These are brave words, but rich men do not boast of their wealth. And I am afraid that Zophar must either have been much poorer than he thought, or that he put forward this pretension of wealth to hide a conscious penury. For, after all, he has nothing to say—nothing of the quality of an argument, or of a reply to the arguments of Job. To him, as to many of the self-appointed champions of subsequent creeds, the most familiar weapon of controversy was invective ;

and his one merit is that he makes his invective as keen and biting as he can. There is really nothing but racy and telling invective in the Verses which follow; and one might have hoped that men of so much religious culture and genuine piety as Eliphaz and Bildad would have been a little ashamed of their colleague's irrational and self-defeating virulence. But just as we now often see good men, who would not themselves deign to use sinister and cruel weapons against the heretic or the sceptic, not altogether displeased when combatants of a coarser grain wield those weapons with effect; just as we occasionally see them, in times of great excitement, even stooping to use the weapons they would have disdained to touch in their calmer and better hours, so, as we shall find in the next Colloquy, even Eliphaz, the wisest of the three Friends, sinks to the level of Zophar, and stoops to invectives as baseless and cruel, though not so grossly worded as his.

There is not much in Zophar's invective to detain us. It divides itself into three sections. In the first (Verses 4-11) he describes the punishments which wait on sin; in the second (Verses 12-22) he affirms these punishments to be the natural and necessary consequences of the sins to which they are attached; and in the third (Verses 23-28) he asserts that these punishments, though they are the natural consequences of sin, are nevertheless inflicted by God, and execute his verdict on the transgressions by which they are provoked.

In *Verse* 4 he affirms the constancy, the eternity, of the retributive principle which he is about to assert, viz., that (*Verse* 5) the success and prosperity of the wicked are short-lived. The higher and the more

imposing the elevation to which he climbs (*Verse 6*), the more disastrous and disgraceful is his fall from it (*Verse 7*). The coarse figure which Zophar here employs—"like his own ordure"—was probably suggested by the *mezbele* on which Job lay; and implies that Job himself, whose head had once seemed to sweep the clouds, had already fallen from his high estate, and become as loathsome as that on which he lay. So sudden and so unexpected is the downfall of the sinner, so complete and obliterating the Divine judgment on him, that men will look round for him in amazement, asking, "Where is he?" all his imposing bulk and grandeur having vanished like the pageantry of a dream (*Verse 8*). *Verse 9* is stolen bodily from Job, and was doubtless meant as a broad hint that it *was* Job whom Zophar, under the thin disguise of a general description, had in view. Job had said (Chap. vii. 8, 10), "*The eye that seeth me shall see me no more;*" and again, virtually, "*Neither shall my place know me any more;*" and Zophar now says of his wicked man, "*The eye that saw him shall see him no more, Neither shall his place any more behold him,*"—this echo being also an innuendo. In *Verse 10*, as if feeling that he was too openly breaking through his disguise, too plainly christening his wicked man *Job*, Zophar adds a more abstract and general touch to his delineation: "His children shall court the poor," *i.e.*, they will have to court the favour of those whom *he* has impoverished, restoring to them what his rapacious hands have seized. And as Job's children were all dead, we might think that here at least Zophar was not girding at *him*; but the words which follow betray him. He cannot keep his secret for two sentences together, nor even for two

clauses of the same sentence. For his wicked man, he adds, shall restore the substance of which he had plundered his neighbours *with his own hands*. And incredible as it may appear that he who knew the just and noble manner of Job's life so well should intend to charge him with having made raids on the neighbouring clans, and should have held, therefore, that the inroads of the Sabeans and Chasdim who had "lifted" his oxen and camels were only a due retribution, there can be little doubt in the mind of any student of Verses 19-21, 24, 25, that he had persuaded himself that Job was, or was like, the raiding freebooter whom he there describes. In the very next verse, indeed (*Verse 11*), there is a distinct allusion to Job's complaint (Chap. xiii. 26), that God was making him "to inherit the sins of his youth." "Yes," retorts Zophar, "your youth, or the sin of your youth, *has* come back upon you; nor need you think to escape it: it shall go down with you into the dust of death."

In the next section of the Chapter (Verses 12-22) Zophar proceeds to affirm that the destruction of the wicked man—that convenient cloak or figment behind which all the Friends stab at Job in turn—is purely natural and retributive, that it is due to and provoked by his sins. But here, again, all the Commentators are agreed that Zophar is animated by a coarseness and fierceness such as we find in no other of the interlocutors in this tragedy. The Poet is consistent in attributing this intolerant heat and passion to him alone. And yet, in *Verses 12-15*, we have a veritable touch of the Poet himself, who, like Shakespeare, is apt at times to speak through the personages of his drama. The way in which the figure of these Verses is elaborated

is in his most characteristic manner,¹ and the figure itself might fairly be taken as an illustration of the way in which he lingers over any simile that takes his fancy, holding it in his mouth, and refusing to part with it till he has extracted the last possibility of virtue or sweetness from it. The image of the Verses is, of course, that of an epicure with a dainty on his palate, bent on making the most of it—not a pleasant figure, though it is touched in with wonderful skill. Job, or Job's double, "the wicked man," is the epicure; sin is the dainty, which he loves so well that he holds it under his tongue, touching it and yet sparing it, loth to leave it, and still more loth to exhaust its flavours, only swallowing it unwillingly, and when he can no longer relish it. But no sooner has he swallowed it than, as dainties are apt to do, it turns to poison within him, so that he is compelled to vomit it up again. And the special sin which Zophar assumes to have been so perilously sweet to him was—the lust of wealth, a charge for which there was absolutely no foundation, except that Job had been a wealthy man, too wealthy, perhaps, for the greeding eyes of his Friend; for then, as now, even good men were apt to admire riches and to covet them.

That Zophar *was* touched by this base admiration and craving seems indicated in *Verse 17*, in which he employs the usual metaphor for Paradisaical happiness, streams of milk and honey, to denote the enjoyments which even an ill-gotten wealth may procure—a profanation of the metaphor which we should not have expected from him, for he is sound in creed, if not

¹ See Note on Chapter xv. Verse 10, with footnote. THE EXPOSITOR, vol. vii. p. 18.

in heart. In a series of conspicuously vigorous sentences he continues to affirm that even this sin carries its own punishment with it ; that wealth ill-gotten *cannot* be enjoyed ; and that, therefore, 'tis better to have modest and lowly aims,—

And range with humble livers in content,
Than to be perk'd up in a glistening grief,
And wear a golden sorrow.

In the third section of the Chapter (Verses 23–28) he proceeds to assert that the action of this law of retribution is not automatic, though it looks as if it were ; that it does not administer itself, but is administered by God. All the forces of Nature array themselves against the greedy, rapacious, insatiable sinner, and all the instincts and interests of men ; but it is God who rules these forces, and God who has so made men, and so guides and directs them, that they resent wrongdoing, and pull down the wrong-doer from his pride of place. Even though the sinner may for a moment have compassed the good fortune at which he aimed, yet at the very moment he is revelling in it God will shower upon him a hot wrath and vengeance by which he shall be consumed (*Verse 23*). Such, implies Zophar, had been Job's fate, when he was struck from the very summit of prosperity and happy hours to the depths of ruin and despair.

In *Verses 24–27* he grows at once more definite and more harsh. For here he depicts Job under the image of a freebooter, slain in a foray against some neighbouring clan. Bent on plunder, he is suddenly confronted with the sword of his purposed victim ; he flees from it, only to be transfixed by an arrow : a comrade draws it out, but his life-blood follows the

sharp gleaming point, and he falls and dies. And the treasure, the booty, which he had carefully buried in the ground or concealed in his tent before he set out on his last expedition, will remain concealed, hidden in darkness, until it is consumed either by a chance fire, a fire not kindled and blown and fed by men, or by the fire which God hurls at it from heaven.

But in *Verse 27*, as I have already said, we have the culminating point of Zophar's cruelty. What he most resents is that one who dissents from his views, and is not pious after his pattern, should claim to have a deeper faith than he has, a firmer assurance of the Divine favour. He is conscious that Job feels himself to be both the wiser and the better man of the two, with wider thoughts and a heart more devout, nearer God and with a more invincible conviction of God's good-will toward him. Possibly he half suspects that Job *is* the wiser and the better man. And yet how can that be, when Zophar has authority, tradition, the popular creed and sympathy, all on his side? It cannot be. Job must be mistaken; his wisdom must be "consumed in confidence;" his faith must be presumptuous, if not insincere. Is it for such an one as he to appeal to heaven and earth to attest his innocence? No, verily. Innocent he cannot be. He must be the greedy and violent sinner whom Zophar has pictured to himself. Let him appeal as he will, then, Heaven will but attest his iniquity, not his integrity, and the earth rise up against him, as unwilling to endure the presence of one so vile. And so he strikes at the one consolation left to his afflicted friend—the nascent trust in God born of his very despair. No day of mercy is about to dawn upon him, no day

of redemption and vindication; but (*Verse 28*) a day of anger, in which all that he has hoarded up will flow away under the tempest of God's righteous indignation.

In fine, we may say of Zophar that this last oration of his proves him to be one of that vast but foolish multitude who

choose by show,
Not learning more than the fond eye doth teach;
Which pries not to the interior, but, like the martlet,
Builds in the weather on the outward wall,
Even in the force and road of casualty.

His theology is superficial; his view of human life is superficial; and, above all, his view of Job is superficial, and not even true to the superficialities of his character. He "pries not to the interior," whether of character or of events. Being so slight and shallow a man, it was but natural both that he should take it upon himself to interpret the ways of God with men, and that he should misinterpret them. It was but natural that, his interpretation being questioned and refuted, he should blaze out into wrath and denunciation, hanging out his little hoard of maxims and menaces on the outward wall, from which casualty and the weather have long since dislodged them.

Perhaps, too, as Zophar is the last of the Friends to speak in this Colloquy, we ought to note, before dismissing him, how artistically the Poet throughout this Colloquy wins our sympathies away from the other speakers to fix them on the hero of his drama. While a spring of ever new thought, and thought surcharged with the most various and profound emotion, is constantly welling up from the heart of Job, and he is

borne on by it to the most surprising and invaluable discoveries, the Friends have but one thought among them all—retribution, and but one emotion—indignation. They are for ever harping on one string, for ever singing one song, till we grow weary both of their strain and of them. The only change in them is that they so handle their one thought as that it grows narrower and still more untrue to experience every time they take it up; that they sing their one song in an ever louder and harsher note. All the life, the variety, the progress of the drama is concentrated in Job; and thus, silently and indirectly, but most effectually, our entire sympathy with him is secured. S. COX.

*SHORT PAPERS UPON THE PROPHET
JEREMIAH.*

NO. 3.—JEREMIAH'S LABOURS IN THE FIRST YEAR OF
JEHOIAKIM.

THE call of Jeremiah was in the thirteenth year of Josiah, and as that king reigned for thirty-one years, it was the prophet's happy lot to labour up to middle age in the company of one who had given his whole heart to God. But darker times were in store for him, and at length the day came when the work of Josiah's reign was to be tested, and when the nation must prove by its conduct whether the so-called reformation, wrought by his efforts and Jeremiah's preaching, was real, or a mere empty outward show.

Even the most inattentive reader of the Bible can scarcely fail to be struck by the very merciful way in which God dealt with the Jewish nation when lapsing

into idolatry. He sent them, first, Hezekiah, with the prophet Isaiah to stand by his side, and set the seal of Divine approbation to all he undertook. It was in vain. At Hezekiah's death there was a violent outbreak of fanaticism, during which the prophets of Jehovah were mercilessly slain, together, as Josephus tells us, with all the nobles and leading men who had shared in Hezekiah's labours, and been his friends and counsellors. Now, as Manasseh was but twelve years old when this happened, we must not ascribe the whole blame to him. As he grew older he shared in the popular enthusiasm for idolatry, and when in course of time he had a son, he sacrificed the poor babe to Molech. But the sin belonged to the whole people. As a nation they rejected God, and their conduct is comparable to nothing in modern times so much as to the French Revolution at the end of the last century, when the people abolished the worship of God by a national decree, and established instead a mock worship of the Goddess of Reason, while they revelled in the slaughter of all such as represented the former state of things.

Soon afterwards the armies of Esar-haddon appeared, and Manasseh was carried prisoner to Babylon, where he repented, but not in a very effectual manner. We read of no attempt on his part to undo the bad work of his early years, nor does he seem to have made any effort to stem the idolatrous tendencies of the people. But at least there was no more persecution during the rest of his reign, and those whose hearts had been with Hezekiah and Isaiah were free to follow their own inclinations, and labour quietly in their own way. Nor was that peaceful resting-time in vain ; for when,

fifty years afterwards, Josiah mounted the throne, he found numerous wise and pious statesmen ready to aid him in his great enterprise. Foremost among these were Hilkiah, the high priest, and the princely Shaphan, whose noble sons, Ahikam and Gemariah, were such firm friends of the prophet Jeremiah. But had there not also been a considerable number of the people on Josiah's side, he could not have carried out his reforms with so high a hand. No monarch can act altogether independently of popular feeling, and to make Josiah's reign possible, there must have been much good but quiet work done for Jehovah during the latter years of Manasseh's reign.

And we must remember that the attraction of idolatry consisted in its immorality. People did not care for Baal and Astarte, for Molech and the Queen of Heaven, in themselves ; but the worship of these gods meant pleasure. Baal, the lord, the master, the husband, was well represented by the mighty sun, under the influence of whose warm beams the gentle recipient mother earth poured forth from her fruitful bosom the rich stores of vegetable and animal life. The symbol of this gentle loving power was sometimes the moon, but more generally the planet Venus, whose soft and beautiful light became the emblem of love of every kind, pure and impure, chaste and unchaste. The worship of Jehovah was the worship of one who rewards and punishes human actions. He required not merely clean hands, but a pure heart. His service meant holiness, chastity, self-denial ; and men cast it away. High and spiritual as was Judaism compared with heathen creeds, yet it had not the constraining motives of Christianity. And when the Jews saw how

the religions of the neighbouring Gentiles lent themselves to the worst passions of the human heart, and threw a halo of religious glamour round practices in themselves unchaste and unholy, they longed to cast off the restraints of their own pure religion, that they might enjoy life as the heathen did. If you read the second and five following Chapters of Jeremiah, the record and summary of his teaching during Josiah's reign, you will find that his description of the Jewish people is that of men eager to break through every moral restraint. He sets them before us as a nation not so much falling into sin through temptation, as seeking eagerly and fiercely to abandon themselves to voluptuousness. And by a natural reaction, side by side with the worship of pleasure, stood that of Molech. Aghast at its sins, the terrified conscience could find peace only by the most terrible sacrifices. The innocent children must be slain to appease the dark spectres of an imagination defiled by crime. Without understanding this intense immorality into which the Jews had been sinking in the days of their latter kings, we cannot understand the labours of Hezekiah and Isaiah, of Josiah and Jeremiah. The restoration of Jehovah's worship meant a reformation of morals, and the part of the work which especially belonged to the prophets was to reach the hearts of the people. The prophets sought to give them a true creed instead of an impure mythology, and they laboured thus for a creed because of that which true religion always brings with it—purity, chastity, self-denial, self-restraint.

Now, in the earlier Chapters we have a very brief summary of Jeremiah's labours, a short abstract, as it were, of the sermon which in various ways and forms

he was perpetually preaching. For eighteen years he was ever at work, and Josiah's great plan of a national reformation seemed to prosper. The Temple was repaired, the services restored; the Passover celebrated with unusual magnificence; the haunts, too, of idolatry and immorality were cleansed, and all the externals of religion made decent. It was a second and even more earnest repetition of God's merciful dealing with the Jews in Hezekiah's days. But it failed, not altogether, but in the main. The people were pleased and elated at all Josiah had done: they quite approved of it, and admired it, and said with threefold iteration, "The temple of Jehovah, The temple of Jehovah, The temple of Jehovah, is this" (Jer. vii. 4). But that was all. They stopped just short of the one thing needful. They would have nothing to do with real hearty personal holiness; and the prophet contrasts their external piety with their internal worldliness and irreligion, in the following remarkable words:—

Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel,
Amend your ways and your doings,
And I will let you dwell in this place.
Trust ye not in lying words, saying,
The temple of Jehovah, The temple of Jehovah,
The temple of Jehovah, is this.
For if ye thoroughly amend your ways and your doings;
If ye thoroughly execute judgment between man and man;
If ye oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow,
And shed not innocent blood in this place,
Neither walk after other gods to your own hurt:
Then will I let you dwell in this place,
In the land that I gave to your fathers, for ever and ever.
Behold, ye trust in lying words, that cannot profit.
What! to steal, murder, and commit adultery,
And swear falsely, and burn incense to Baal,
And to walk after strange gods that ye know not;
And to come and stand before me
In this house on which my name is called,

And say, We are delivered to do all these abominations?
Is this house, on which my name is called,
Become a den of robbers in your eyes?¹

These striking words form part of a sermon preached by Jeremiah in the Temple, on the occasion of some solemn feast day, in the first year of King Jehoiakim. Josiah, in the discharge of what he supposed to be his duty as a vassal of Nineveh, had gone forth to battle with Pharaoh-nechoh, and had fallen at Megiddo. The nation had deeply mourned over his loss, and Jeremiah has given utterance to their sorrow in the Book of Lamentations. They had also shewn their respect to him practically, by passing over Jehoiakim, and putting Jehoahaz, a younger brother, upon the throne. The verdict upon Jehoahaz is adverse (2 Kings xxiii. 32), but Jeremiah speaks very kindly of him in that interesting chapter (Chap. xxii.) in which he contrasts the three kings, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jeconiah, who in such rapid succession had occupied Josiah's throne. "Weep sore," he says, "for him that goeth away: for . . . he shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and shall see this land no more."

His was a hard fate. Scarcely grown to manhood, he saw his father slain. Chosen then by the people of the land to fill the throne, doubtless because he was the best and most promising of Josiah's sons, he laboured for three months to stem the tide of trouble that followed upon the defeat of the Jewish army. He was then summoned by the conqueror to Riblah, was dethroned, cast into chains, and dragged down to Egypt, to die there. Not content with wreaking his vengeance on a youth, Pharaoh-nechoh imposed a tribute upon the land, and, worst of all, made Jehoiakim king.

¹ Jer. vii. 3-11.

Both the Book of Kings and Jeremiah describe him as a heartless tyrant. Not only did he exact the tribute of the people of the land, but lavished money upon expensive and unnecessary buildings. By the first charge (2 Kings xxiii. 35) I suppose is meant that Jehoiakim did not defray the tribute, either in whole or in part, out of the royal revenues, but levied it as an extra tax entirely upon the industrial classes. Impoverished thus by waste of war and by heavy imposts, they were further compelled to build palaces for Jehoiakim by forced labour. Speaking of him, Jeremiah says :—

Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness,
And his chambers by injustice ;
That useth his neighbour's service without wages,
And giveth him not his hire ;
That saith, I will build me a wide house and large chambers,
And cutteth out for himself windows,
Roofing it with cedar, and painting it with vermilion.¹

Now Solomon's great buildings had been erected chiefly by forced labour, and even in those prosperous days, and though mostly levied upon the conquered Canaanites, it had pressed so heavily upon the people as to have been one of the causes of Jeroboam's revolt (1 Kings xii. 4). From that time, if not altogether discontinued, its exaction had become rare, and Jeremiah did but express the conviction of the national conscience that to make men labour without payment was unrighteousness ; and men's minds revolted the more against it because this forced labour was demanded for unworthy purposes. The palace which had satisfied Josiah in happier times was not good enough for Jehoiakim in adverse days, when the nation had suffered a disastrous defeat, and had a heavy war indem-

¹ Jer. xxii. 13, 14.

nity to pay. Well might the prophet say of one so mean, so unpatriotic, and so unjust,—

Thine eyes and thine heart are only for thy covetousness,
And for to shed innocent blood, and for oppression, and for violence, to do it.¹

Now the accession of Jehoiakim to the throne was the opportunity given to the Jews of proving whether the reformation wrought in Josiah's reign was real or not. It was, no doubt, easy and even fashionable to repent when a Josiah was king. People went with the court, even if the court went into sackcloth and ashes. But when a king came who cared only for amassing money and wasting it on costly castle-building, the influence of the court went another way, and that process of sifting began which the Bible calls the refiner's furnace. Well, any one reading the Bible carefully will, I think, come to the conclusion that the work of Josiah's reign stood the test far better than that of Hezekiah's. Religion was not swept away by Jehoiakim with that thoroughness which made the reign of Manasseh such an era of national apostacy in the history of the Jewish Church. I have often read and thought over all such passages in Isaiah's writings as might throw light upon the terrific reaction which followed upon Hezekiah's death ; and though I can see many indications of the existence at court of a strong party opposed to Isaiah's teaching (see especially Chap. xxii. 15-25), I can find nothing that altogether explains it. But everything is intelligible in Jehoiakim's days. A bad king succeeds a good one. All the commonplace people go with the fashion, and become lax and dissolute. But the religious people only grow more earnest and thorough. They are only purified and refined by

¹ Jer. xxii. 17.

trial. And so in Jeremiah xxiv. they are described in terms of high praise. The nation is there spoken of as divided into good and bad, placed in separate divisions like baskets of figs, ready to be removed each to its final destination. The good are called "very good figs, even like the figs that are first ripe;" the bad are "very bad, that could not be eaten, they were so bad." We see, then, that Josiah's efforts had not failed entirely. The nation must be chastened, but would still live on and be restored to its land. And those exiles about to be carried into captivity at Babylon were men choice and precious as that oriental luxury, the first ripe fig.

And God did not leave them to struggle in their trial-time without help. No sooner was Jehoiakim upon the throne than Jeremiah stood forth boldly and preached the sermon contained in Chapters vii.-x. of his prophecy; and so important an event was it felt to be, that we further have the history of it given to us again in Chapter xxvi. The sermon has just one lesson from beginning to end, and that is the lesson of reality. You cannot be and are not religious, says the prophet, unless you lead religious lives. If you go to the temple and take part in its services, and on your return home say, We are now delivered to do these bad things in our daily lives, that is, we are now free to do them, have compounded with God by going to his temple and being very devout there, and may now go on in our usual wicked ways; if thus you confess your sins only to repeat them, then you are the worse for your pretence of devotion, and not the better. Instead of honouring God by going to church, you have made his house a den of robbers.

For a den of robbers is not the place where they commit their sins, but where they rest and refresh themselves between whiles, and make ready for some fresh act of violence. And mark the way in which God shewed his abhorrence of the manner in which they thus used his Temple. He destroyed it. That splendid edifice, the pride of the Jewish nation, the object of so much loving care, for which David had collected the money and materials, which Solomon had built, and Hezekiah and Josiah restored and beautified; where so many generations of Jews had prayed and sung psalms and offered oblation and sacrifice, and round which so many hallowed associations had gathered; that noble Temple God utterly destroyed, because it was abused and put to an improper purpose, and so no longer aided men in leading holy and virtuous lives.

Jeremiah's words in announcing this just but severe punishment are as follows: "Because ye have done all these works, . . . therefore will I do unto this house wherein my name is called, wherein ye trust, . . . as I have done to Shiloh" (Chap. vii. 13, 14).

Now Shiloh was the place where the ark was first set up. When the Israelites under Joshua conquered Palestine, the tribe of Ephraim, as representing the house of Joseph, was the leading tribe; and Joshua, who himself belonged to it, chose Shiloh, an Ephraimite town, to be the centre of the national religion, and placed there the ark. It remained at Shiloh for many centuries, and there the priests ministered before it, until the wicked sons of Eli so profaned the place that men abhorred the offering of Jehovah; and then punishment came. The Philistines gathered their armies, defeated the hosts of Israel, slew the sons of Eli, and

captured the ark. We gather, too, from Psalm lxxviii., that they committed frightful atrocities. "The priests fell by the sword, and their widows made no lamentation. God gave his people over unto the sword, and was wroth with his inheritance; the fire consumed their young men, and their maidens were not given in marriage."

So complete was the ruin of Shiloh, that it never appears again in Jewish history. When Jeroboam, an Ephraimite, set up his calves, he did not choose it as a proper place for his new rites, though hallowed by three or four centuries of national worship. Even the ark was never taken back thither, but wandered about, and rested in all sorts of strange places, till at length David set up a tent for it in Jerusalem. The Philistines had so utterly destroyed the town, and committed such cruelties, that the people had a horror of it. And now Jeremiah tells them that their splendid Temple at Jerusalem, just restored at so great a cost, should be made as utter a ruin, and become as terrible a warning unto all who make religion serve only as a palliative for sin. Great was the excitement and indignation from one end of Jerusalem to the other at such ill-omened words. The news of the threat spread with fiery speed throughout the whole city. "The priests and prophets and all the people at once seized him, and said, Thou shalt surely die." And the magistrates heard of the tumult. They were at the time in the royal palace (Chap. xxvi. 10), engaged in their official duties, and when the tidings came they hastened to the portico of the "new gate of Jehovah" in the Temple, built by King Jotham, and as soon as they had taken their seats the trial began.

The charge was gone into. Priests and prophets—men claiming to be prophets quite as much as Jeremiah, for by the side of the true there ever stand the counterfeit and the false—these men joined with the mob in calling for the true prophet's death. It was shameful to say that Jerusalem should be destroyed; and to say it at the beginning of a new reign was treason; and the traitor Jeremiah must die.

They call upon him for his defence. It is simple, straightforward, and manly. God had sent him to preach these words. If they repented they might escape the evil, but not otherwise. As for himself, he was in their hands, and they must do with him as seemed to them good. "Only know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon the city, and upon the inhabitants thereof: for Jehovah hath really and truly sent me unto you, to speak all these words in your ears" (Chap. xxvi. 12-15).

Now these magistrates had been appointed to their posts in King Josiah's reign, and they justified his choice of them. They called to mind how Micah, in Hezekiah's days, had prophesied that Zion should be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem become a heap of ruins, and the Temple be so entirely swept away, that Mount Moriah would stand up bare and lonely like some scaur rising above the forest trees. And Hezekiah, they said, and all Judah, did not put him to death, but repented; and Sennacherib, so far from capturing the city, returned home broken and with his power gone. And so they acquitted Jeremiah. Their verdict was, "This man is not worthy to die, for he hath spoken to us in the name of Jehovah our God."

Just twenty-two years afterwards the first and primary fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy took place. The people did not repent. Though the sentence of the judges had given weight to his words, and the remembrance of Hezekiah's conduct had taught them the right way of averting the evil, and had encouraged them to choose it, they still persisted in their wickedness; and so, because they had religious privileges, and did not use them for the one purpose for which God had given them, namely, to aid them in living holy lives, He took their privileges away. During most of the rest of the reign of Jehoiakim Jeremiah lived in exile. After a short struggle his voice was heard no more in Jerusalem. And when at last he returned, it was for the sake of those who were to be removed to Babylon. In this sermon he had given God's last solemn call to the mass of the people, and they had rejected it. And though God is longsuffering, yet at length the time of justice comes: for it is equally true of Him "that he will by no means clear the guilty" (Exod. xxxiv. 7).

R. PAYNE SMITH.

BIBLICAL NOTES.

GENESIS ii. 5.—The Authorized Version, following the LXX., renders this verse thus: "And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground." An appearance of logical sense is given to this rendering in our Version by connecting it with the previous verse, so that it reads: "In the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth," &c.; as though God first made the plant and the herb of the field, and afterwards set them in the ground—a childish conception, for which certainly the original text is not responsible.

The Bible edited by Cheyne and Driver has this excellent note.

“(The text reads obscurely.) On the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heaven—when no plants of the field were yet in the earth, and no herbs of the field were yet sprouting (because the Lord God had not sent rain upon the earth, and there were no men to till the ground); and a mist used to go up, &c.—then the Lord God formed the man.” The authorities given for this emendation are Ewald, Schrader, and Martineau. It is with some hesitation that I offer a suggestion which does not seem to have occurred to any of the distinguished scholars who have tried to illuminate this obscure passage, for Drs. Gotch and Davies, in the Revised Bible, are substantially agreed with the scholars just named. Why should not the adverb *terem* be rendered *already*? If *beterem* (with the preposition) is properly rendered *before that*, *previously*, and *terem*, followed by a preterite or a future applied to a past action, has the meaning of *not yet* (Gesenius), what objection can there be to translating it *already*, when the connection seems to require this meaning? Certainly it admits of etymological justification more easily than the sense *not yet*.

I have marked in my Hebrew Bible two other passages where our translators seem to have missed the true sense, by failing to perceive that *terem* sometimes means *already*. In Joshua ii. 8, our Version reads (the reference is to Rahab and the spies): “And *before* they were laid down, she came up unto them upon the roof;” as though the historian were careful to point out the delicacy of Rahab’s conduct, an idea surely which could never have entered his head; whereas the fact that she waited until the inmates of her house were all settled down for the night and were fast locked in slumber, before she ventured to have such perilous communication with the Israelitish strangers, was well worth noting, because it adds to the graphicness of the story. The exact rendering of the Hebrew appears to be this: “And they were *already* laid down *and* she went up unto them upon the roof.” It will be observed that our Version drops the copulative. Gesenius renders it *not yet*, which saves the *and*, but is open to the objection, just advanced, of giving a jejune sense. The other passage is 1 Samuel iii. 3: “And ere the lamp of God went out in the temple of the Lord.” This rendering is obtained by taking *terem* as “*not yet*,” but surely it is more probable that He who was known to Israel as “dwelling in the thick darkness,” would choose the silent hour when “the lamp was *already* out in the house of the Lord,” before calling the child Samuel. There are other examples, but these will suffice.

Coming back to Genesis ii. 5, and rendering *ki, though*, a meaning which it often has, I would translate thus: "And every plant of the field was *already* in the earth, and every herb of the field had *already* sprouted, though the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth," &c. With this translation the historian's meaning is obvious enough. He is giving a summary of the story of Creation with a view to introduce the history of Jehovah's covenant relations with the man for whom He made special provision in the garden of Eden; and he recalls the fact that the earth was already prepared for the habitation of man, that the materials for a garden, suitable for his first home, were already in existence, even in that region of the earth where, as his readers knew, rain was almost unknown—a mist, which went up from the abundantly watered plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, supplying the place of rain.

Thus read, the discrepancy between the two accounts of Creation disappears; and, if a just reason can be given for the introduction of the covenant name of God into this history of the Adam, there seems no difficulty in supposing that the second chapter is the work of the same author as the first.

E. W. SHALDERS.

Exodus xxxiii. 15.—What was the special grace desired by Moses in these memorable words? After the apostacy of the children of Israel at the foot of Sinai, God set forth new conditions under which they should continue their journey to the Promised Land. What withdrawal of honour and privilege was there in these conditions that Moses should so strongly deprecate their being carried out? If we had only this chapter, we might infer that the difference in God's future dealings with Israel would be, that He would henceforth commit them to the care of an angel—some messenger of his providence less holy than Himself—and that the honour and privilege which his personal presence implied would be withdrawn. For we read in the opening verses of the chapter, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Depart, and go up hence, thou and the people which *thou hast brought up* out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I swore unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it: *and I will send an angel before thee: . . . for I will not go up* in the midst of thee; for thou art a stiffnecked people: lest I consume thee in the way" (Verses 1-3).

Apart, however, from the fact that it is difficult to conceive of any real difference between God's personal and instrumental superintendence, we no sooner turn our attention to the account of his pro-

posed dealings with Israel before they fell into the idolatry of the golden calf, than we find that the handing over of the command of their hosts to an angel could not have been the change of treatment that filled Moses with such dismay. In Chapter xxxiii. 20, God says, "Behold, I send an Angel before thee, to keep thee in the way, and to bring thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice, provoke him not; for he will not pardon your transgressions : *for my name is in him*. But if thou shalt indeed obey his voice, and do all that I speak ; then I will be an enemy unto thine enemies, and an adversary unto thine adversaries. For mine Angel shall go before thee, and bring thee in unto the Amorites, and the Hittites," &c. There is no warrant for the supposition that the angel of Chapter xxxiii. is an inferior being to the Angel of the Divine Presence spoken of in Chapter xxiii. Indeed, there can be no reasonable doubt that when God says, "Must my presence (literally, my face) go with thee, that I may give thee rest?"¹ the reference is to the angel in whom God's Name was, and whose visible symbol was the pillar of cloud and of fire. And of course the reference will be the same in Moses' reply, "If thy presence go not *with me* [with us. See Verse 16], carry us not up hence."

What, then, was the grace which God proposed to withdraw from Israel? By their shameful apostacy after the manifestation of the Divine glory at Sinai they had shewn that the grandest and most awful signs of the Divine Majesty could easily be forgotten; and it really seemed that the presence of the pillar of cloud and of fire in their midst would not, when once it should become familiar, deter them from rebellion. It would be better not to give them the opportunity of openly insulting the Divine Majesty. A grace which failed to inspire awe would inevitably harden. God intimated, therefore, that the Angel of his face, instead of having his holy tent in the midst of the tents of the congregation ("I will not go up *in the midst* of thee"), should simply *go before them* to prepare their way. If the fiery cloudy pillar were not altogether withdrawn, it should remove to a distance from their camp, and they should be reminded by this very distance that they were an obstinate people, and that the Lord God refused to dwell among them. Hitherto Moses' own tent, pitched without the camp, had been the tent of meeting, not only for himself, but for any member of the congregation who wanted to inquire of the Lord. As this, however, was a provisional arrangement, pending the erection of the sanctuary, we must suppose that this also was part of the privilege to be withdrawn.

¹ Chap. xxxiii. 14. See Ewald's translation in Cheyne and Driver's "Old Testament." I would translate the last clause, "In order to set thee at rest."

If, now, we look at Chapter xxix. 42-45, we shall see of what they would be deprived by the threatened change in God's dealings: "This shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord : where I will meet you, to speak there unto thee. And there I will meet with the children of Israel, and *the tabernacle* shall be sanctified by my glory. And I will sanctify the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar : I will sanctify also both Aaron and his sons, to minister to me in the priest's office. And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will be their God."

Evidently they would lose the sanctuary which was to be their peculiar glory. To the nations they would appear a people that not only had no visible God, but no public religious rites. Moses, their leader, instead of being able to commune with God and ask counsel of Him, would be left to the guidance of his own sagacity. The children of Israel could not come to inquire of God ; no atonement could be carried into the presence of his mercy-seat, and no blessing could be spoken by the priests, conveying peace to the hearts of the thousands of Israel. They were to be left to follow their own devices and the counsels of their own hearts. God would fill them with their own ways. Only his providence engaged to direct their path and prepare their way to enter the Promised Land. The effect of this terrible reservation in the conditions on which God pardoned their apostacy would have resembled the effect of a papal interdict in mediæval times, when nations were denied the public offices of religion and shut up to a life almost without God in the world. It was this terrible prospect that called forth Moses' passionate entreaty, "If thy presence go not *with us*, carry us not up hence." Better that we should remain in the wilderness, better that we should die where we are, than live under such perpetual discouragement, so manifestly forsaken of God !

The lesson God desired to teach was conveyed by the mere threatening, and, in answer to the intercession of Moses, He consents to the construction and erection of the sanctuary. When completed, He solemnly took possession of it, and Jehovah's sacred tent became the visible centre of the camp of Israel (Chap. xl. 34-38).

The application of this incident is obvious, though, since we live under a new and better covenant, we are in a somewhat different case from the children of Israel. The Shekinah has been set up in the family of man and can never be removed. Immanuel, God with us, is the imperishable possession of the human family. Atonement for the sins of mankind has been made ; Divine forgiveness has been

pronounced ; God and man are reconciled. If nowhere else, the reconciliation is accomplished in the person of Jesus Christ. A man is on the throne of God. A new and living way into the holiest of all is open to the contrite in heart. There is a Comforter ready to dwell with man upon the earth, who is the Spirit of the Father and the Son. The gifts and callings of God are without repentance, and the covenant which secures these blessings is unchangeable and can never be revoked.

The question for us is, Are we content to live without a personal sense of the Divine presence, without tasting for ourselves that the Lord is gracious, without seeking counsel and guidance from the oracles of God and obtaining answers of peace to our prayers? Does a life of practical atheism seem to us something too terrible to be endured? Would an interdict of our sanctuary services, a prohibition laid upon private prayer, a withdrawal of Divine promises, fill us with heartfelt dismay? Would it make a great difference to our actual life, if we were deprived of all opportunity of seeking Divine counsel, and were left to guide ourselves by our own sagacity, to maintain our uprightness by our own strength, and live without thought of Him in the world? Are we prepared to say, "If the Lord go not up with us in the journey of life, we would rather that it should end here. We decline to bear such responsibilities alone. It were better, in such a case, to die than to live"?

It is not out of place to add that the suggestion offered in this note lights up the whole of that part of the Book of Exodus which refers to the wilderness-life of Israel. What is more, it accounts for what otherwise appears so strange, the detailed repetition of all the particulars respecting the construction of the Sanctuary. Moses, trained in all the learning and wisdom of the Egyptians, had imbibed their characteristic love of symbolism ; and nothing, probably, delighted his soul more than that Jehovah's revelation of Himself should take this ritualistic form. He would value the honour of giving this Sanctuary to Israel more than any credit that might accrue to him for his civil and sanitary regulations. Was it not oracle and mysteries all in one? The prospect of losing it had filled him with dismay ; while the permission to carry out the original design that had been shewn him in the Mount, after the threatened prohibition, gives him so much joy, that he dwells with fondness upon the actual execution of the work as the completion of the great ambition of his life. According to this view, the repetition of the account of the construction of the Tabernacle becomes an unmistakable mark of the genuineness and authenticity of Exodus. No writer of a later age,

who might have drawn up a description of the construction of the Tabernacle, would have thought of elaborating it twice over, once in the form of instructions how to make it, and then again in an account, equally detailed, of the way in which these instructions were carried out. It is just a reflection of the joy that filled the great Lawgiver's heart in the possession of a privilege that had been so nearly lost.

E. W. SHALDERS.

ISAIAH vi. 9, 10.—There is no passage of Holy Writ that has a better title to be regarded as a *locus classicus* than this. It is quoted in each of the Synoptical Gospels. St. John recalls it when recording the unbelief of the Jews, and St. Paul twice quotes it in illustration of the same painful fact. There are striking variations in the uses thus made of it from the original passage, which furnish a pertinent example of the freedom with which the sacred writers handled previous statements of Scripture.

The forms of quotation in the New Testament range themselves into two diverging lines, one tending to assert that an influence is brought to bear upon men's minds by which they are rendered insensible to moral truth, the other that their blindness is the result of their own unwillingness to understand and obey. To the former may be referred Mark iv. 11, 12; Luke viii. 10; John xii. 39, 40; and Romans xi. 8; to the latter, Matthew xiii. 14, 15; Acts xxviii. 26, 27. Since the last two passages are an almost verbal quotation from the LXX., it may be said that the leaning of the New Testament is to discern between the lines, if not in the form, of the original passage a judicial chastisement of the perverseness of the Jewish people.

It becomes therefore an interesting question, What was the precise meaning of the message conveyed by the Divine Spirit to Isaiah's mind? Did it represent the ministry to which he was solemnly deputed as a forlorn hope, because, from the moral temper and confirmed habits of the people, an unfavourable result was antecedently certain? This seems the sense in which it was understood by the authors of the LXX., and its form, if Hebrew idiom be taken into account, is by no means inconsistent with this meaning. It is a mode of expression, very characteristic of Hebrew thought, to represent the result of a course of action as designed which is only foreseen or confidently anticipated. Familiar with forms of government in which the sovereign power appeared wholly without control, the Hebrews transferred ideas derived from this source to the government of God. They had a conviction that the Judge of all the earth must do right, but the conception of the rights of the creature and correlative

responsibilities of the Creator did not lie within the horizon of their thought. Their overwhelming sense of the Divine Power, absolutely ordering all events and giving no account of its dealings, permitted them to say, without any idea that they were imputing evil to God, "Why hast thou made us to err from thy ways, and hardened our heart from thy fear?" It may be said that in the passage under consideration the utterance is not the prophet's, but God's. But this makes no difference, since Isaiah's mind was the field of revelation, and, strictly speaking, there is no more difficulty in the idea of God's accommodating Himself to modes of human thought than in his employing our modes of speech. It is a necessity limiting the absolute truth of revelation. If men's minds are to be reached, the Spirit must use such avenues of approach as have been thrown up for other occasions. God's communications to Isaiah would be tinctured by Isaiah's habits of thought as inevitably as the prophet's publication of them.

By a similar idiom to that which moulds this passage, a prophet is even said *to do* what he simply announces. Thus, to Jeremiah God says: "Behold, I put my words in thy mouth. See, I this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to ruin, and to destroy, to build and to plant" (Chap. i. 10); meaning, of course, not that he should control the destinies of nations and kingdoms, but that he should announce the Divine Will respecting them, and that events would so answer to his predictions that it should seem as though his word alone determined their rise or fall. There is no thought here of an irreversible decree published by the prophet, as we may see from the repetition of these very words in the application of the Parable of the Potter. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if *that nation*, against whom I have pronounced, *turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil* that I thought to do unto them" (Chap. xviii. 7, 8).

Still there must have been some reason for expressing the anticipated failure of Isaiah's mission in such a strong, not to say repulsive, form. Shall we say then that God bids Isaiah choose such methods of presenting truth as would have the effect of stupefying the moral sense of a people already perverted, and so insure their becoming an example of Divine judgment? I need scarcely say that this harsher construction has been put upon the passage, but I think unwarrantably. For the Divine word is not a secret instruction to the prophet respecting the *form* of his ministrations, but a solemn warning to be openly proclaimed to the people. The man whose life was henceforth

to be devoted to the preaching of repentance to a nation that had corrupted its way, was to tell them at the outset that his ministry was to make them blind and deaf, and harden their hearts, lest the result which he was ever labouring to accomplish should be brought about, and they should turn and find pardon! Surely, if solemn irony was ever uttered, we have it here. Nowhere do we find Isaiah employing language of that mystic character which only special sympathetic insight could understand. Whenever he warns, rebukes, or invites to repentance, he is as plain as an evangelist.

There must, however, be some foundation in the passage itself, beyond the form of its irony, for the use that is made of it in the New Testament. Between the alternative interpretations just mentioned there must be a *via media*. This I will endeavour to indicate.

A people, chosen to be witnesses for God, and to accomplish a certain service in the education of the world, may fulfil this design in two ways: by the attainment, on the part of some, of religious faith and character; and by the exhibition, in the case of others, of the consequences of unfaithfulness under special privileges. Obviously, there will come a time in their history when, so far as the latter are concerned, these privileges will become positively injurious. Nevertheless, the continuance of the means of moral and spiritual instruction after they have ceased to be a benefit to the greater part of the nation may still be required, in order to accomplish God's purpose of grace to the men of honest and good heart. A college professor would not be doing his duty towards his conscientious and diligent students if he forbore to proceed to the higher branches of the subject of his prelections, because his teaching would have the inevitable effect of confusing and discouraging the idle men who had failed to master his elementary course. So it is the appointment of Isaiah's mission, notwithstanding its foreseen failure in the case of all but a remnant of the nation, which gives it a judicial character, and makes it a menace of judgment.

Hence our Lord's use of the passage to justify his having recourse to parables while prosecuting his ministry in the midst of a nation that had already shewn a strong disposition to reject Him. He puts his teaching into a form in which it could be apprehended by such as were willing to do the will of his Father, but which would hide it from those whose disobedience to known truth had deprived them of spiritual insight. This was a chastisement upon their perverse and prejudiced minds, because a virtual withdrawal of his saving ministry from them. It was like closing their day of visitation. Yet in another aspect the adoption of this course was an act of mercy; for

teaching, the meaning of which is obscure to the unwilling hearer, is less hardening than plain truth, because it does not provoke such obstinate resistance. So also there was mercy in Isaiah's ministry to his hardened fellow-countrymen. It was to be continued until their cities were desolate, without inhabitant, and the Lord had removed men far away. Then its gracious purpose to them would become manifest, for when suffering Divine judgments they would be thrown back upon neglected warnings. Though so long unavailing, as unavailing as if their very design had been to confirm them in their disobedience, these warnings would eventually become weird fingers pointing to the cause of their sufferings, and indicating the way of salvation through repentance and turning to God (Verses 11-13). For the severest lines of the prophet's message plainly imply that, even after a course of obstinate impenitence, to *turn* is to put a constraint upon God's mercy, and draw forth his forgiveness: "*lest*," he says, "*they convert, and be healed.*"

To sum up: these verses are an utterance of warning in the form of solemn irony; but the appointment of a ministry of warning and rebuke, when the temper of the nation was such that it would be more likely to harden than to win to repentance, was a judicial chastisement of disobedience to truth. This thought explains our Lord's use of the passage to illustrate his adoption of the parable as a means of conveying or hiding his meaning, according to the state of mind of the hearer. It is also the justification of the use made of the passage by St. John and St. Paul, to point their own statements respecting the moral blindness which overtakes those who fail of the grace of God.

E. W. SHALDERS.

COLOSSIANS i. 24.—Dr. Gloag, in his article on "The Complement of Christ's Afflictions," in the March number of THE EXPOSITOR, has done scant justice to the view of this passage advanced by Meyer, and stated in these words:—"Paul describes his own sufferings as *afflictions of Christ*, in so far as the apostolic suffering in essential character was the same as Christ endured. The collective mass of these afflictions is conceived in the form of a definite measure. He only who has suffered all has filled up that measure." Dr. Gloag adds the following paraphrase, by Meyer, of verse 24: "I rejoice on account of the sufferings which I endure for you, and am in the course of furnishing the complete fulfilment of what, in my case, still remains in arrear of fellowship of affliction with Christ." Here it will be observed that Meyer understands the expression, τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, to mean, not any deficiencies *in* the afflictions.

of Christ, but the arrears in St. Paul himself of fellowship with those afflictions; or, in other words, that wherein the Apostle's afflictions fell short of the full measure of Christ's afflictions. There is nothing in this interpretation to justify Dr. Gloag's objection that it detracts from the reality of Christ's sufferings, and "gives a figurative interpretation to them," while he himself admits that it is supported by other passages of the New Testament; as when the Apostle Paul expresses his desire "to know Christ, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable to his death."¹ Dr. Gloag further objects to this view as hardly giving any distinct sense to the principal clause in the verse, "*filling up that which is behind*, or lacking, in ('of' in the Authorized Version) the afflictions of Christ." He says also that "the idea of deficiency in the suffering of Christ Himself—a deficiency that must be made good—is overlooked or omitted." It would be more correct to say that it is distinctly rejected. The German commentator's idea is not that of any "deficiency in the suffering of Christ Himself," but he gives great prominence to the idea of deficiencies in the apostle's own suffering, whereby his afflictions were still in arrear of Christ's. These were the arrears which, according to Meyer's explanation, the Apostle was engaged in making good.

No amount of ingenuity has been able to remove the serious objections to any interpretation of this passage which implies that there were defects or imperfections in the sufferings of Christ, from whatever point of view they are regarded. But it is quite in accordance with St. Paul's mode of thought to describe his own troubles and persecutions as incomplete, because they fell short of the troubles and persecutions of Christ on earth. He rejoiced, he said, in the sufferings for the sake of the Colossians, and was making up for² whatever was lacking in his flesh of the afflictions of Christ,³ for the

¹ Phil. iii. 10. Comp. Rom. viii. 17; 2 Cor. i. 5.

² Ἀναπληροῦν is to fill up, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Ἀναπληροῦν is to fill up, supply, by way of compensation, so that the supply is set over against (ἀντί) and meets the deficiency. In the present instance, St. Paul said that he was endeavouring to make up the measure by which his afflictions fell short of Christ's, so as to compensate, as far as he might, the deficiency that was in them, when set against all that Christ had endured. So when Clement of Alexandria said (*Strom.* vii. 12), οὗτος . . . τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἀπουσίαν ἀναπληροῖ, the verb denotes, not merely that the man's presence supplied the absence of the apostles, but that it was a compensation for it. So also Diogenes Laertius (x. 48) says that a continual efflux takes place from the surface of bodies, which is imperceptible because of the compensation (τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν) arising from a supply of moisture corresponding to the waste, and making up for it.

³ Τὰ ὑπερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου. Comp. Phil. ii. 30: "ἵνα ἀναπληρώσῃ τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς πρὸς με λειτουργίας," "That he might supply

sake of his body, the Church. "Whatever the Church," as Dean Alford observes, "has to suffer, even to the end, she suffers for *her* perfection in holiness and *her* completion in Him." But then he goes on to say, "The tribulations of Christ will not be complete till the last pang shall have passed, and the last tear have been shed. Every suffering saint of God, in every age and position, is in fact filling up, in his place and degree, the afflictions of Christ in his flesh, and in behalf of his body." Now if in the above extract we read, for "the tribulations of Christ will not be complete," "the tribulations of *believers* will not be complete," and for "the afflictions of Christ" read "*that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ*" (not τὰς θλίψεις τοῦ Χριστοῦ, but τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ), the latter clause of the Dean's explanation will be more consistent with the former, and will at the same time more accurately represent the sense of the original, in which the phrase τὰ ὑστερήματα is of the first importance. Thus also the apostle's words are found to be in conformity with the general teaching of the New Testament that "we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God," and that the Christian's glory will be in proportion to the degree in which his tribulations have approached the measure of his Lord's; or, to use the Saviour's own language, will be in proportion to the measure in which he has denied himself, and taken up his cross and followed Christ. All Christians, indeed, must come far behind their Master in suffering, but this is no reason why they should not make it their chief ambition, as notably St. Paul did, to lessen the interval by which they come behind Him,¹ while following in his steps.

J. S. PURTON.

that which was lacking on your part of the contribution meant for me (from Macedonia)." See also Judges xix. 19, "There is no *lack* of anything" (οὐκ ἴστω ὑστέρημα παντός πράγματος.—LXX.). The verb ὑστερεῖν τινος may mean either to be in need of something, as in Luke xxii. 35, or to fall behind, fall short of, so as to be inferior, as in 2 Cor. xii. 11. In Col. i. 24 the noun is derived from the verb in the latter signification.

¹ Matt. xvi. 24: literally, "If any one desires to *come behind me* (ὀπίσω μου ἰδεῖν), let him deny himself."

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